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DACOITEE IN EXCELSIS;

OR

THE SPOLIATION OF OUDE

By

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

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Faithfully Recounted

BY

SAMUEL LUCAS

With Notes And Documentary Illustrations

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"I was pleased however, and surprised, after all which I had heard of Oude, to find the country so completely under the plough; since, were the oppression so great as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population, or so much industry." *Bishop Heber*

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FOREWORD

The project to reprint a number of rare books on Indian history is a laudable venture on the part of the Pustak Kendra. Their '*Rare India*' series will include many old and valuable eighteenth and nineteenth century works relating to medieval and modern Indian history. For bibliophiles, teachers and researchers these publications will be of immense and abiding interest.

'DACOITEE IN EXCELSIS' or the Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company by SAMUEL LUCAS, first published in 1857, is a charge-sheet against Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal, who by his wilful acts of commission plundered the Begums of Avadh and extended the East India Company's area of influence to this province. The author has not only supplemented with added evidence, the petition presented by Shujauddaula and the royal family of Avadh to the Parliament at Westminster, but has also presented the history of Avadh from the legendary days of the Ramayana to the times of Lord Dalhousie.

The exploitation of the Kingdom of Avadh by successive British Governors-General, the impoverishment of the land under its effete Nawabs, and the attempt for its annexation by the Company have all been recorded forcefully and fearlessly in this work. A short account of the administrations of Avadh is also appended.

To retain the flavour of the original writing, the spellings of names and places are left untouched.

Editors

Introduction

A PETITION on behalf of the King and Royal Family of Oude, who have been shamefully despoiled of their kingdom and revenues, has been recently presented to both Houses of Parliament, and it is not conceived possible that so glaring an injustice can be perpetrated in the face of Europe as that the inquiry simply sought, as the object of this Petition, can be withheld or suppressed by the interests or persons implicated. When this inquiry is obtained the truth will be known, which has been so carefully and ingeniously concealed from the British people. It will be seen how persistently they have been kept in the dark as to a process of exhausting levies tending to confiscation; as to the nature of an interference calculated to a nicety to embarrass and obstruct, without assisting a dependent government; and as to an alliance so insidiously interpreted as to subvert the very dynasty it affected to sustain. It will be seen how falsely a pretended care for a native race can be made the excuse for thwarting their inclinations, while appropriating their substance; and how, consulting our own objects alone, we can enforce a revolution to which they were adverse, and can thrust upon them our rule because we coveted their rupees. It will be seen that while the indignant denunciations of Burke and Sheridan have become a species of lost tradition, we can still parallel the acts of Hastings; that the story of "the Begums of Oude" is not without a sequel; and that we have not yet outlived the evil days of corporate rapacity and proconsular violence. It will be seen what worse than equivocal deeds may still be committed in the English name, in reliance on our natural indifference to transactions out of our observation, and almost beyond our scrutiny; and it will be fully seen, when a full investigation is granted, how worthless is that apology contrived in the

"Oude Blue Book" by official ambition and private interests, possibly only half-conscious of their conspiracy, but certainly calculating on the ignorance of English readers. The truth in its full and authentic form has yet to be revealed; and, as a preliminary to inquiry, it is here proposed to give a compendious history of the spoliation of our faithful and unresisting Ally, designed in contravention of existing treaties, without reasonable cause, with signal ingratitude, in completion of a purpose long cherished, and consummated by an act of violence which is now defended by well-digested calumnies and authoritative slanders. The terms which are here employed may appear strong, but their import has been deliberately and seriously considered, and their proof is forthcoming in a substantial form hereafter; but for the present it is restricted to certain of the points in question. One very considerable point shall be mentioned at once. When the officials of the East India Company were compiling their reports of the ruin of Oude, in answer to the requirements which they knew how to interpret, and while they vied with each other in representing its revenues as failing—its army disorganised—its landholders in rebellion—its cultivators impoverished—in some places its fertile lands relapsing into a desert, and its industrious ryots sold off into slavery; when they stated that 40,000 ploughs had disappeared from a single district, which could not by any possibility have contained them,* and that the districts generally were given up to crime, havoc, and anarchy, by the misrule of a government at once imbecile and corrupt;—when they thus spread their vague indictment so as to cover the whole land, from the palace precincts to the coverts of the jungle, and substantially described an entire people as brought low and becoming weary by means of the multitude of their oppressions and miseries,—this fiction of official penmanship—this *Oriental romance*, as it can be otherwise proved to be, could not, to the evident surprise and discomfort of its propagators, be reconciled to one simple and obstinate fact,—that the people of Oude, nevertheless, preferred their own country to the contiguous territories of the East India Company. Notwithstanding the alleged inducements to emigrate, notwithstanding the obvious facilities to emigrate which existed on three sides

* "Oude Blue Book," p. 8; and "Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude," p. 22, Calcutta.

of them, this perverse population would not come forth, in any appreciable numbers, to give a colour to the case of the Indian officials.* They preferred the slandered regime of their native princes to the grasping but rose-coloured government of the Company; and those who had actual experience of both, to the number of some 50,000, employed as Sepoys by the Company, were accustomed to leave their property, wives, and children behind them, to send home any wages they were able to accumulate, and eventually to return themselves when their term of service had expired. Since, however, that the territory of Oude has come under the dominion of the East India Company, 4,000 individuals† have departed from Lucknow alone; it is alleged that provisions have risen, that crime has increased,‡ that the soldiers of Oude decline our service, and that its inhabitants are indisposed to our assumed sovereignty. The facts which are filtering through the Indian press, as gradually as its dependent position will permit, are answering the charges contained in the "Oude Blue Book;" or, in other words, they obliterate the only excuse of which these fictitious charges were the scaffolding,—that the people were miserable, and required a change of government. When, moreover, we are assured that the British officers, as they entered the country, could hardly believe their eyes at the signs of high cultivation and of general prosperity which they saw around them, we have further evidence to the same effect in conflict with the Annexation pretext. But the fallacious bearings of the "Oude Blue Book" will be examined in some detail in their proper place in this scandalous history. It is now proposed to give a summary statement of our treatment of Oude from the earliest date; to dispel the calumnious charges which were the foundation of our recent proceedings; to show that from first to last, in our treatment of this unhappy country, we have been outraging moral equity; and in our latest act have violated international law; and thus, that there are the clearest grounds on behalf of the dispossessed family, either for an Address to Her Majesty, or at least for an inquiry by a Committee of one

* The official bewilderment at this circumstance will be referred to hereafter.

† "Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude," p. 57, Calcutta.

‡ "Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude," p. 57.

of the Houses of Parliament. Those who raise the question here are prepared and resolved to pursue it, and are content to abide by the issue of an appeal to the justice of the English People.

THE SPOLIATION OF OUDE

Chapter I

SHOWING HOW THE COMPANY MADE ACQUAINTANCE WITH SHOOJAH-OOD-DOWLAH'S RUPEES, AND HOW QUICKLY THEY IMPROVED THEIR INTIMACY WITH HIS TREASURES AND TERRITORY.

THE kingdom of Oude is situated at the root and in the heart of the Indian peninsula.* Interposed between the Ganges and the Himalayas, it comprises about 24,000 square miles, and contains 5,000,000 inhabitants. Its population is bold and warlike, and furnishes the best constituents of our Indian armies. Its fertility is so remarkable among the principalities of this prolific region, that it is commonly spoken of as "the Garden of India"; and its national revenues have been in fitting proportion to its productiveness. The East India Company, with that discernment which has ever distinguished them, turned its capacities of every description to their profit from an early date. Not only have they drawn their best troops from its peasantry, but they have taken a large portion of its revenues for professing to defend its princes with this very soldiery. Oude has been simultaneously their recruiting ground and military chest,

*"The kingdom of Oude is bounded on the north and north-east by Nepaul; on the east by the British district of Goruckpore; on the south-east by the British districts of Azimgurh and Jounpoor; on the south by the British district of Allahabad; on the south-west by the Doab, including the British districts of Futtehpoor, Cawnpore, and Furrukhabad; and on the north-west by Shahjehanpoor. It lies between N. lat. 29° 6′—25° 34′, and 79° 45′—83° 11′ E. long.; is 270 miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and 160 in breadth. The area is 23,923 square miles; population, 5,000,000, being 250 5/6 to the square mile."—*M. M. Musseehooddeen.* According to the Post Office authorities, Lucknow, the present capital of Oude, is distant from Calcutta 619 miles. It is a fine city, and reminded Reginald Heber of Dresden. Its architectural and other characteristics are fairly described in the apocryphal narrative, "The Private Life of an Eastern King."

their fiscal tributary and bank of advance. By subsidies, loans, exchanges, and other devices, it is computed that they have drawn from it, since their connection with the province, a sum of *not less than fifty millions sterling*. Up to the day when they ruthlessly wrung the neck of the royal goose, this was the rate at which it laid them golden eggs.

The process by which this was managed is highly instructive, and its explanation requires an extended historic statement. Before we knew of its existence, Oude was a country of ancient traditions, and the scene of India's earliest romance. In the first great Sanscrit epic, "the Ramayana," it is the residence of a splendid king and an heroic people, and its capital, Ayodhya or Oude, is filled with gorgeous accessories.* Of its authentic history from this date we know very little, but at the close of the twelfth century, after the conquest of Canouj by the Mahommedans, it was subdued by Kutbuddin Aibuk, Viceroy of India, for Mohummud Ghori, Sultan of Ghuznee. It thenceforward became an integral part of the realm of the sovereigns of Delhi,

* The following is the description from "the Ramayana," taken as nearly as possible from Carey's translation:—

"The streets and alleys of the city were admirably disposed, and the principal streets well watered. It was beautified with gardens, fortified with gates, crowded with charioteers and messengers furnished with arms, adorned with banners, filled with dancing girls and dancing men, crowded with elephants, horses and chariots, merchants and ambassadors from various countries. It resembled a mine of jewels, or the residence of *Sri*. The walls were variegated with diverse sorts of gems like the divisions of a chess board, the houses formed one continued row of equal height, resounding with the music of the tabor, the twang of the bow, and the sacred sound of the Veda. It was perfumed with incense, chaplets of flowers, and articles for sacrifice, by their odour cheering the heart."

In this city of well fed happy people no one practised a calling not his own, none were without relations, the men loved their wives, the women were faithful and obedient to their husbands, no one was without earrings, no one went unperfumed, no Brahman was without the constant fire, and no man gave less than a thousand rupees to the Brahmans. This city was guarded by warriors as a mountain den by lions, filled with horses from Kamboya and other places, and elephants from the Vindhya and Himalaya mountains, and governed as Indra governs his city, by Dasaratha, chief of the race of Ikshwaku.

This king was perfectly skilled in the Vedas and Vedangas, beloved by his people, a great charioteer, and constant in sacrifice. His courtiers were wise, capable of understanding a nod, and constantly devoted to him. Eight Brahmans are mentioned as chief counsellors, two as chosen priests, and these appear to have been his prime ministers; six others were also in office. "Surrounded by all these counsellors, learned, faithful, eminent, seeking by wise counsels the good of the Kingdom, Dasaratha shone resplendent as the sun, irradiating the world."

and on the conquest of the empire by Babar, was easily subjugated. Mr. Macaulay, in a few clear and discriminative sentences, has traced its fortunes in connection with that empire's dissolution.—

"Some of the great viceroys, who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul, ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank as to extent of territory and amount of revenue with the Grand Duke of Tuscany or the Elector of Saxony. * * * * Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority, they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge, in words, the superiority of the House of Tamerlane, as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingains. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants, removable at pleasure, but *independent hereditary princes*. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still" (written in 1840), "though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow and Hyderabad."

It was in the position just described, and for which they were certainly not indebted to the Company of English merchants who built Fort William on sufferance in 1699, that the latter princes, thus originally potential, commenced their fatal relations with the East India Company.*

* For the sake of convenience, we subjoin the following table of the sovereigns of Oude, side by side with the leading dates in the history of the East India Company:

A.D. 1711 Sadat Khan.	In A.D. 1601 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a company of merchants to trade to the East Indies.
„ 1739 Suffder Jung.	In 1634 this company obtained an imperial firman from the Emperor Shah Jehan to trade with Bengal by sea and to establish a factory. In 1652 permission was granted to the company by the same prince to trade throughout the province of Bengal. In 1686 the company of the merchants entertained an armament to-
„ 1756 Shoojah-ood-Dowlah.	
„ 1775 Asoph-ood-Dowlah	

The circumstances under which they were first included in its toils arose out of the Company's dealings with Bengal, from the Subadar of which, in 1698, it had avowedly purchased the ground on which Calcutta now stands, while it had really prepared a fulcrum from which to overturn India. The Company had supported an aspirant to the throne of Bengal, for the consideration which afterwards became so familiar in their various treaties, a large sum of rupees, amounting in this instance to one crore and seventy-seven lacs, when the victory of Clive at Plassey, on the 23rd June, 1757, gave effect to their bargain, by installing their protege and annihilating their antagonist. The protege was removed in 1760, on the plea of incompetency, and a successor set up, who was also deposed, whereupon protege No. 1 was reinstated. The only name among these unfortunate favourites of the Company which is at all material to our present purpose is that of the preferred and rejected No. 2, Cossim Ali, who, after sustaining a series of defeats in contending against his deposition, fled to Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, Nawaub of Oude, and involved him also in the inconvenience of friendly relations with the Company. Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, in the first instance, espoused the cause of Cossim, and marched his army into Behar; but coming in contact with the forces of

A.D. 1797	Vizer Allie. (Spurious, and displaced in favour of Saadat Allie.)	maintain their rights. In 1698 leave was obtained from the Subadar of Bengal to purchase the ground on which Calcutta now stands. In 1699
„ 1798	Saadat Allie.	Fort William was completed. In 1717 the company obtained an imperial
„ 1814	Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder.	confirmation of all their former privileges, and continued to conduct their commercial affairs with success
„ 1827	Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder.	until 1756, when Seraj-ood-Dowlah succeeded his grandfather, Ali Verdi, as Subadar of Bengal, and in consequence of Governor Drake having
„ 1837	Mohummud Allie Shah.	refused to give up a native who had fled with his wealth to Calcutta, he attacked and captured the place.
„ 1842	Soorye-a-Jah. Amjud Allie Shah.	Calcutta was retaken on the 2nd of January, 1757, and Seraj-ood-Dowlah having marched towards Calcutta to
„ 1847	Wajid Allie Shah.	oppose the English, was completely routed by Lord Clive, and the first treaty was concluded between the company of merchants trading to the East Indies and Seraj-ood-Dowlah, Subadar of Bengal.

the East India Company at Buxar, on the 23rd October, 1764, something less than one hundred years ago, he was there defeated, and was eventually compelled to enter into a treaty for "perpetual" and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union," with the East India Company, which by this means inserted its syphon into his treasury, and unsealed the precious fountain of his coveted rupees. This treaty was concluded on the 16th August, 1765. And, in addition to the payment by the Nawaub of £ 500,000 for the Company's expenses, for which it stipulated, it prepared the Wuzier for a further series of disbursements, as the natural consequence of the "friendship" and "firm union" to which it tied him. Thus, the second article of the treaty provides for mutual offensive and defensive arrangements, and that, "*in the case of the English Company's forces being employed by His Highness, the* EXTRAORDINARY *expense of the same to be defrayed by him.*" The case was, of course, pretty certain to occur; while the expense was fated to become "*extraordinary*" in a very different sense from that professedly contemplated. It was necessary, however, to prepare the victim for the *ordinary* incident of excessive and incessant levies, or to fit the prey for the expectant maw, by a phraseology, which, as it were, *lubricated* it for its gradual but entire absorption.

This was simply the first step; but the process thus begun was never from that moment interrupted, and the syphon then inserted never ceased to flow. By this slender thread the kingdom of Oude was gradually drawn into the meshes of the Company, was taxed and impoverished, cramped, tethered, and tormented, until it was presumed to be ready for final annexation. The process was singularly stealthy and protracted, for it was not assisted by any imprudence or insincerity on the part of the rulers of Oude. Their good faith was never successfully impeached, and at this day their good services are admitted by their worst enemies. Not one letter, it is said, among the many hundreds which were intercepted subsequently, contained aught that could raise the slightest suspicion of their fidelity and attachment.* But, three years after the above treaty was

* On the contrary, a most signal illustration of their good faith was afforded in this way four years later, in 1772, when two emissaries, bearers of a certain letter from His Excellency to Hyder Naik, the father of Tippoo Sultan, were seized by the English authorities at Lucknow. On ascertaining

signed, *rumours*, which were afterwards ascertained by three members of the Council to be without foundation, reached the Indian Government to the effect that the Nawaub of Oude was levying forces in order to oppose them. A correspondence accordingly took place, and explanations were freely given; but the Company improved the occasion by exacting an additional engagement, by which the Wuzier was restricted from entertaining a force exceeding 35,000 men. This restriction, which of course rendered him less independent of British assistance, was the second step in the stealthy process, and it followed in three years on the engagement for "sincere friendship and firm union" with the ally whose power it tended materially to diminish. This restriction, however, was commended to the Nawaub by the accompanying engagement that, so long as it was observed by himself and his successors, the East India Company would not introduce any addition to its provisions. That such apparent securities accompanied most stages of their intercourse was not, however, as practically delusive as might be supposed; for such engagements would soon be estimated at their correct value, if on the part of the Company they were consistently and invariably broken. That such was the case in this instance we shall have many illustrations, and the first of these we shall come upon in the incident next to be mentioned.

The Court of Directors had repeatedly urged upon the Indian Government the importance of acquiring the fortress of Chunar, and had directed that no fit opportunity of obtaining

the contents of this letter, the Resident was satisfied that it was in answer to one sent to His Excellency from Hyder Naik in which that chief had written as follows:—"It surprises me to find that your Excellency, while possessing so large an army and such ample resources, should submit to the yoke of the Christians. It would be more advisable for your Excellency to attack them on your side, while I assail them on mine, and by our united efforts destroy them." The intercepted letter contained this answer—"Fanaticism in religion is for those who have relinquished all interest in worldly affairs; but it would be culpable in persons who, like us, have relative duties to perform towards thousands professing a totally different religion to our own, to show a preference for one sect over another. As for that large army and those ample resources which you have heard that I possess, they are maintained for the purpose of being employed against the enemies of the East India Company. Do not, therefore, expect me to use them otherwise." The Resident, having thus become aware of the contents of the letter, obtained permission from His Excellency the Nawaub to forward it to the Governor-General of India, in order that His Lordship might also be convinced of the sincerity and truth of His Excellency's friendship—*M. M. Musseehood-deen.*

that object should be omitted.* Chunar had been retained by the British, under the seventh article of the treaty of 1765, as a guarantee for the payment of the half-million sterling payable by its sixth article; but when this sum had been paid, there was no longer any pretext for keeping it in their hands, and it was accordingly again given up to the Nawaub. Still the desire of the Company to possess it had not diminished in consequence of their temporary occupation; but they coveted a permanent retention of the security, in addition to the rupees which they had already pocketed. So a pretext was devised for getting Chunar into their hands, and, simultaneously, for retaining the fort of Allahabad, which, while it was in their occupation, the Emperor of Delhi had made over, in 1771, to the Nawaub of Oude; and the pretext devised was simply "the better to enable the East India Company *to assist His Highness with their forces for the preservation of his dominions.*" It appears that the Mahrattas were then threatening Oude through Rohilcund; that is to say, Oude was threatened to the *north* and *west*, while Allahabad and Chunar were situated to the *south* and *east*. The reason for appropriating these places as a matter of strategy is not, therefore, as obvious as the diplomatic inducements for their transfer. It is not quite so clear that their surrender served the interests of the Nawaub, as that their occupation promoted the ends of the Company. Nevertheless, by a couple of treaties, both dated the 20th of March, 1772, Chunar was taken and Allahabad was kept; and thus, during the lifetime of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, two steps were taken in advance of the treaty of August, 1765; that is to say, his forces were restricted, his forts were appropriated and he was so far prepared for further exhibitions of the "sincere friendship" and firm "union," the complete fruition of which was reserved for his successors.

Shoojah-ood-Dowlah accordingly was not at his ease, for the firm union was beginning, "to draw" after the manner of an adhesive blister. He therefore sought an interview with Warren Hastings, who had become Governor of Bengal in 1772, and discussed a revision of existing treaties, to which the circumstances of both parties at this time predisposed them. On

*"Return to House of Lords of Treaties and Engagements between East India Company and Native Powers in Asia, etc." (1853), p. 55.

the one hand, at the period of Hastings' assumption of the Government, the East India Company were in one of those normal crises of their state, in which, having absorbed largely from the substance of India, they had spent all their income, and were struggling with a deficit. The finances of Hastings' government were in an embarrassed state, and to take the history of his acts at this date from Mr. Macaulay, "this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul." The language of the eminent historian so admirably describes the conduct of the Governor at this conjuncture, that we adopt it as an indispensable portion of our own narrative. According to Mr. Macaulay, "the principle which directed Hastings' dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, 'Thou shalt want ere I want.' He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and human sentiments, many excellent precepts—in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. 'Govern leniently, and send more money;' 'Practise strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money'—this is in truth the sum of all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, being interpreted, mean simply, 'Be the father and oppressor of the people: be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.' The Directors dealt with India as the Church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these despatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles

from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their Lieutenant at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half-million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees."

Now Shoojah-ood-Dowlah possessed rupees, but he was our firm friend and faithful ally. There was no excuse, therefore, for taking them from him against his will, as Hastings did take from the Nabob of Bengal, at this conjuncture, half the income of £320,000 a year, guaranteed by the Company and as he also took from the Mogul, on the plea that he was not independent, the districts of Corah and Allahabad, which had been given to him by the treaty of the 16th of August, 1765. With respect to the latter piece of plunder, the sequestered districts, the difficulty remained that they were so situated that they could be of no present use to the Company. They might, however, be of use to Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, who was thereupon induced to purchase them for about half a million sterling, and the stipulations for this purpose were included in a treaty of the 7th of September, 1773, dated at Benares ("Parliamentary Return of Treaties, &c.," p. 57), by which our favoured Ally was also allowed to assume the title of Wuzier of the monarchy of Hindustan, "just," says Mr. Macaulay, "as, in the last century, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his 'Grand Chamberlain' and 'Grand Marshal'." There was much economy, if not foresight, in transferring these districts, with title to boot, to the particular purchaser, seeing that in less than thirty years, by the treaty of 1801, the Company were able to exact from Saadat Allie, a successor of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, the very provinces which the latter now purchased of them, for 50,000,000 rupees, or £ 500,000 sterling. It is true that for the

present they guaranteed "that, in the same manner, as the province of Oude and the other dominions of the Vizier are possessed by him, *so shall he possess Corah and Currah and Allahabad for ever.* He shall by no means," says the emphatic treaty, "and under no pretence, be liable to any obstructions in the aforesaid countries from the Company and the English chiefs; and, exclusive of the money now stipulated, no mention of requisition shall, by any means, be made to him for anything else on this account." Requisition, nevertheless, was made to his heirs and successors to surrender the lands which he had bought and paid for. The money's worth followed the money itself and, like a well-trained pigeon, returned to its former owner, without invalidating the original transfer. It has been said, orientally, in a sort of proverb, that, at least, "curses resemble such fowl, inasmuch as they invariably come home to roost." In this instance, the pretended blessings displayed a power of returning themselves, and, by coming home, left the beatified empty. But at this date they were seemingly a reasonable excuse for a further dip into the treasury of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah; while they were ingeniously and opportunely conferred as a part of that revision of existing treaties which he himself had solicited. As we said, Shoojah-ood-Dowlah was at this time uncomfortable. He had found a sufficient source of anxiety in the "sincere friendship and firm union" with which he was honoured. His army was restricted, his fortresses were occupied; by every fresh arrangement he was brought more directly under the influence and control of the East India Company. If their forces were not indispensable to his support, at all events it was an inevitable consequence of the alliance that they should be quartered upon him, and that he should pay their "expenses." Foreseeing this, with the resolution of an unhappy man who wishes to take a full measure of his calamity, it was his object to ascertain how much he would have to pay henceforth for services thus obtrusively rendered. Therefore, in the treaty which provided for the cession of Corah and Allahabad, he obtained a provision, entitled a security against "disputes," that he should pay for a brigade, at the rate of 2,10,000 Sicca rupees per month,* and that, "exclusive of the

*It appears that this was irrespective of the arrangement between Shoojah-ood-Dowlah and the Company for the famous expedition for the subjugation of the Rohillas, which has been so eloquently described by Mr. Macaulay,

above-mentioned sum, *no more should, on any account, be demanded of him.*" This treaty, as we stated, was concluded on the 7th of September, 1773, at Benaras, and it was followed by a proceeding, on the part of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, by which he provided against its infringement in his lifetime,—that is to say, in the year 1775 he died, and so escaped the further demands of his pertinacious Allies.

in his article on Warren Hastings. Before this date, we have seen that Oude was threatened from the direction of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and, according to M. M. Musseehood-deen, "after the conclusion of this treaty, the Nawaub Shoojah-ood-Dowlah required the force in question for the conquest of the Rohilla country. After the Rohillas had been subdued but before the troops received orders to return, Nawaub Shoojah-ood-Dowlah died, and the army remained in possession of that principality. The Nawaub had also promised to pay, provided the Rohillas were conquered, *a further sum* of fifty lakhs of rupees, besides the pay of the troops. This is more explicitly set forth in Mr. Hastings' letter to the Nawaub, and the latter's answer thereto." The following is a translation of the letter addressed to H. E. the Nawaub Shoojah-ood-Dowlah by Warren Hastings, and dated 22nd April, 1773:—"In reply to your letter, authorising the Honourable East India Company to annihilate and extirpate the Rohillas, if they refuse to pay the agreed sum of forty lakhs of rupees, I beg leave to inform you that in case of their complying with your request, and placing you in full possession and entire control of their state, will your Excellency promise to pay the amount of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Honourable East India Company, in consideration of this service? As this sum will enable the Company to discharge the tribute they owe to the King of Delhi, and thus relieve themselves from the existing embarrassments upon their finances." The Nawaub writes to Warren Hastings, on the 18th November, 1773, as follows:—"In an interview which took place between us at Benares, it was fixed that I should pay a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees to the East India Company, and by the aid of its troops punish Rohillas, and expel them from the country." Here, then, is evidence of a special bargain for the particular service, and which was independent of the rate per month to be paid for a Brigade, as stipulated by the treaty.

Chapter II

SHOWING HOW THE COMPANY RAISED THEIR TERMS TO ASOPH-OOD-DOWLAH, AND HOW VERY HARD HE FOUND THEM—SHOWING THE SUBSIDY SYSTEM IN FULL SWING, TREATY OR NO TREATY, AND HOW AFTER A RESPITE FROM LORD CORNWALLIS THE WUZIER SUCCUMBED TO SIR JOHN SHORE

SHOOJAH-OOD-DOWLAH having been finally released from the toils of the East India Company, his son, Asoph-ood-Dowlah, suffered in his stead. The accession of a Prince was just one of those occasions which the Company rarely failed to improve; and it was improved on this occasion without the slightest reluctance. Shoojah-ood-Dowlah had gone to his grave with the comfortable assurance that a brigade of the Company's troops would cost just 2,10,000 rupees per month. The Company, however, speedily initiated his son into their *modus operandi*, by screwing out of him 50,000 rupees per month more. The improved levy was contrived in this way. Though Shoojah-ood-Dowlah was assured by treaty that, "*exclusive of the above-mentioned sum, no more should on any account be demanded of him*," a "majority of the Council" judiciously "considered the treaty concluded with him to have ceased with his death," and exacted, accordingly, a more expensive treaty from his successor. This treaty was signed on the 21st May, 1775, and its object was stated to be "that universal peace, firm friendship, and perfect union shall for ever be established between the Nabob Asoph-ood-Dowlah and the English East India Company." From such excellent and praiseworthy motives, the expense of a brigade was raised to the sum mentioned in excess of that agreed upon less than two years previously; and certain other requirements, which have

yet to be specified, were imposed, and to which it is desirable here to point with continued emphasis.

In the first place, this treaty deprived the Wuzier, without equivalent, of a considerable portion of his then revenue, for by its fifth article, Benares and the surrounding tract of country were to be ceded to the friendly Company in perpetuity. "The sacred city," as it has been termed, of the pious Hindoo was at this date the entrepot of the luxurious commerce of Northern India. Its Rajah, in the disorganization of the Indian empire, had become independent of the Mogul, but had subsequently been compelled to submit to the authority of the Nawaub of Oude. He had paid tribute to the latter; and now, by this cession, the tribute was carried directly into the coffers of the Company.* Thus, while Company were requiring increased contributions from their Ally, they curtailed the resources out of which he was to pay them. They burnt their candle at both ends, with consistent indifference, seeing that the cost was, in this instance, defrayed by the tallow-chandler. Nor were these the only particulars in which they improved the occasion of the accession of

*It is mentioned in the history of Sairool Mootakhurreen that, agreeably to the wish of the Directors, Warren Hastings repeatedly applied to the Nawaub Shoojah-ood-Dowlah to cede to the Company the whole state of Benares, but that the Nawaub would not consent to this. After his death Mr. Bristow, the Resident of Lucknow, through the intrigues and machinations of Mookhtear-ood-Dowlah, the Minister of Asoph-ood-Dowlah, succeeded in having it transferred to the Company.

The real state of the case was this:—Asoph-ood-Dowlah was apprehensive of his brother being placed, by his father, in the independent possession of the Rohilcund principality, the government of which he at that time administered. Upon His Excellency applying to the Resident to dispossess his brother of his authority, he declined doing so; but no sooner were the coveted dominions surrendered to the Company, than His Excellency's wishes were at once complied with.

The same history states, that Warren Hastings did not consider it consistent with justice to cede the province of Benares, disjoined from Oude, to the sovereignty of the East India Company, signifying this his opinion, in writing, to the Home authorities; but that, as was afterwards the case with Lord Dalhousie, *owing to the unanimous concurrence of the members of the Council, this measure was persisted in.* When, however, it came to be discussed in the Council of the Indian Government, there was so much difference of opinion, that the treaty was not ratified; and hence, in the Treaty book of 1853, it is entered as "Translation of the *Proposed Articles* of the Treaty with the Nawaub Asoph-ood-Dowlah, 1775."

The conduct of the Directors, as connected with this treaty, deserve notice. In their letter of the 15th December, 1775, remarking upon the resolution of the Council to disregard the treaties concluded with the late Nawaub of Oude, they say, "Although the death of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah

Asoph-ood-Dowlah to their "firm friendship and perfect union." On the one hand, they diminished his securities for the retention of the districts of Corah and Allahabad, which they had engaged to his father should be possessed by him "for ever;" for in the fourth article of the present treaty they engaged to defend his possession of these districts, only "until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known." And, on the other hand, by the seventh article of the treaty, they made provision for a further payment from the Wuzier, in case he should want further assistance over and above the specified brigade, or in case (as we are warranted by the event in interpreting the provisions) they should desire to quarter upon him more troops for their convenience, not for his. Lastly, although this treaty, with its increased burdens in respect of tribute, its fresh cessions in respect of territory, its diminished securities to the Wuzier of Oude, and its prospective advantages to the Company, was substituted for that made with Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, the Company of merchants who contrived it were too rigorous accountants to forego any provision of the former treaty to their benefit. A balance was outstanding on the engagements it contained, and while these were abrogated for others infinitely less favourable to the present Wuzier, this balance was exacted to the uttermost farthing. The last remnant of lucre was sucked out of the "ceased treaty" before, like an empty orange, it was cast aside; for by an addendum to the present treaty, bearing date the same day, it was engaged that "the *balance* due to the English Company on account of the countries of Corah and Allahabad, Rohilcund, and the pay of the troops, according to the engagement of the late Nabob Soojah-ul-Dowlah, shall be paid to them as it becomes due, without any dispute." Thus, the spirit

may render it necessary to make new arrangements with his successors, we cannot agree with our Council, that our treaties with the State of Oude expired with the death of that Nabob." No sooner, however, were they made acquainted with the new grant of revenue, and the new allowance on account of the troops, than they thus wrote in their letter of the 24th of December, 1776:—"It is with singular satisfaction we observe, at any time, the attention paid by our servants to the great interests of their employers; and it is with peculiar pleasure we here signify our entire approbation of the late treaty concluded with Asoph-ood-Dowlah, successor of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, by which such terms are procured as seem to promise us solid and permanent advantages." It is stated by M. M. Musseehood-deen, p. 19, that the province of Benares yielded the Wuzier about 70 lakhs of rupees per annum, and brought into the Company's coffers nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees net profit.

of the counting-house was combined with the instincts of imperial ambition, and the Wuzier of Oude, in the hands of diplomatists and huxters, was indifferently victimised by their alternate requirements.

As a specimen of the conflicting instructions issued to their servants at this stage, and the relative urgency of which the latter, according to Mr. Macaulay, found means of interpreting, it must now be mentioned that the Court of Directors cautioned the local Government against impoverishing the Princes of Oude, while at the same time this Government obeyed their instructions in the manner described on finding itself involved in debt and difficulties. The Directors had affected to doubt the propriety of quartering their troops upon the Wuzier by the treaty of 1773; but the local Government did their utmost to render permanent a burden which purported on the face of the treaty to be optional and temporary; and at length the Directors had given a coy sanction to the proceeding, "provided it was done with the free consent of the Soobah, and by no means without it." How the Directors hesitated, but eventually approved the treaty of 1775, has been mentioned above in a note; and now, in virtue of some remaining scruples, although the latter treaty was approved by them, they still affected misgivings as to the carrying out of its provisions. Thus in the year 1777, a brigade called the *Temporary* Brigade, and of which the express condition was that the expense should be charged on the Wuzier "for so long a time only as he should require the corps for his service," was added to the permanent brigade, of which the charge had been lately raised; yet the Directors were still apparently anxious that the burden should not be fastened upon the Nawaub contrary to his will. "If you intend" (say they, addressing the Governor-General in Council) "to exert your influence, first to induce the Vizier to acquiesce in your proposal, and afterwards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleasure, *your intents are unjust, and a correspondent conduct would reflect great dishonour on the Company.*" As Sir Peter Teazle says of Joseph, "What noble sentiments!" How great, then, the pity that they were not carried into practice! The temporary brigade, notwithstanding these expressions, became a fixture; nor was this even the limit of the expense for English soldiers, whom the unfortunate Wuzier was drawn in to maintain.

Several detached corps in the Company's service were also placed in his pay, and a great part of his own native troops were put under the command of the Company's officers. In short, his total expenses on account of troops, in respect of subsidies, and their marching and counter-marching within his dominions, had, notwithstanding the Directors' scruples, increased by degrees until they amounted to the sum of one and a half crore of rupees, or £1,500,000 sterling. Then his country became so exhausted in consequence, that the unhappy Wuzier could bear it no longer, and "having repeatedly and urgently represented that he was unable to support the expenses of the temporary brigade cavalry and English officers with their battalions, as well as other gentlemen who are now paid by him under the denomination of Sebundy, &c. &c., and having made sundry requests to that and other purposes,"* in the year 1779 he addressed a letter to the Governor-General in Council, complaining of the continued demands and exactions of the Company, and the oppression and tyranny of their military officers, begging at the same time that the so-called temporary brigade might be recalled. But the temporary burden proved to be like the Old Man of the Sea after he had lifted himself upon the shoulders of the unfortunate Sinbad. In the first place, Warren Hastings himself made objections to its withdrawal until the Wuzier, having "expressed a particular desire for an interview," he was obliged to consent to a meeting at Chunar on the 11th of September, 1781. Here the Wuzier, representing his utter inability to meet the expense with which he was saddled, and no reasonable grounds appearing for refusing to withdraw the brigade in question, the Governor went so far as to sign an agreement for its removal on the 19th of September following. This agreement will be found in the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties," pp. 60, 61, but without the intimation that *it was never carried out.* Such is the value of the "Introductory and Historical Notices" which accompany these treaties as they are submitted to the House of Lords. In fact, for several years, notwithstanding this express engagement, the extra brigade was still imposed upon the reluctant Wuzier, and its expenses were ruthlessly drawn from his impoverished dominions.

*Recital in Agreement of 19th September, 1781. "Parliamentary Return of Treaties, etc." p. 60.

The issue will be recounted presently. In the meantime, it is desirable here to direct attention to the earlier evidence of interference with the Government of the Wuzier's territories, and which will be found in an undated agreement, apparently contemporary with that just above-mentioned (see "Parliamentary Return of Treaties, &c.," p. 61). By this agreement, the Wuzier is recommended to reduce his troops, to establish a private and a public purse; into the former of which he is to receive "no more than a fixed monthly sum" for the expenses of his person and household, while the remainder of the net revenue is to be left in a public treasury, under the management of his public ministers "*and the inspection of the Resident.*" Thus, in addition to the appropriation of the Wuzier's revenues, the grasp of the Company descends upon his affairs, and, by the introduction of an inspecting Resident, with the contingencies arising, we are prepared for the final swoop of Andrew Marquis of Dalhousie.

For the present, however, it will be found that the money questions between the Wuzier and the Company were sufficient to occupy the attention of the latter, and to fill the former with reasonable apprehensions of his approaching ruin. From the 1st of February, 1774, to the end of September, 1783, within a period of little more than nine years (as is admitted in a despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 8th April, 1789), the Company had *squeezed* out of their Wuzier ally two crores and thirty lakhs of rupees (£2,300,000 sterling), and the Directors allowed that the dominions of the Wuzier were reduced to a deplorable condition in consequence; in fact, that it was evident so serious a drain upon the treasury of a state must eventually bring about the bankruptcy of their tributary. Even Warren Hastings himself, speaking of the conduct of the Company towards Oude, remarks that "the number, influence, and *enormous amount of the salaries, pensions and emoluments of the Company's service, civil and military, in the Vizier's service, have become an intolerable burden upon the revenue and authority of His Excellency*, and exposed us to the envy and resentment of the whole country, by excluding the native servants and adherents of the Vizier from the rewards of their services and attachment." In short, it was evident to the factors themselves that their milch cow was getting low in flesh, and that it must have careful nursing unless they were ready once for all to realise the value of its famished

remains. *Vixere fortes ante Dalhousie*, but they were not quite prepared for such strong measures in those days, and a respite was accordingly prepared for Oude, of which a preliminary was the abolition of the Residency, on the 31st December, 1783.*

Moreover, it followed that in 1785 Hastings quitted his Indian dominion, and the brief interval of milder treatment thus accorded to Oude commenced with the accession of Lord Cornwallis in 1786. Among other things, Hastings went home to answer for his treatment of the Begums of this devoted province, and upon which there is not one syllable in the apologetic Blue Book; so incomplete and partial are its seeming revelations. After Hastings' departure there was, however, some remission in the exactions as well as the interference of the Company, for the attention of Lord Cornwallis was drawn to the affairs of Oude; and he took some efficient measures for its temporary rescue. He declined, it is true, to withdraw the temporary brigade, and suggested that the Wuzier should discharge as much of his own army as should allow for the additional expense attending the continuance of these effective troops. But he granted a very considerable remission of the tribute for their maintenance, and which had been exacted without warrant of reason or justice. The annual payments by the Wuzier to the Company required by treaty amounted to little more than thirty-four lakhs per annum; but in respect of the additional brigade thrust upon him by Hastings, and on other pretexts, these payments had been actually raised to as much as eighty-four lakhs. It was now agreed that they should be reduced again to fifty lakhs,† a sum still beyond the stipulations of

*It is remarked by M. M. Musseehood-deen as full of significancy, that, during the respite which the state enjoyed from the presence of the Residents at the Court of Lucknow, neither did disturbances of any kind take place, nor was the slightest difficulty experienced in realising the revenue; but, on the contrary, the country began once more to revive, its resources to recover their elasticity, and the Government to be administered to the perfect satisfaction of all His Excellency's subjects. The good effects thus resulting from the abolition of the office of Resident, proves the truth of the Hon. F. J. Shore's observation,—"So extremely difficult is it to discover the slightest benefit arising from the establishment of Residents at the native courts, that there is even ground for the supposition *that the measure has been adopted and maintained for the express purpose of promoting misgovernment and confusion in the different principalities, so as to afford plausible excuses and opportunity for our taking possession of them.*"—"Notes on Indian Affairs."

†This transaction is thus recorded by Mr. Mill, the historian of British India, vol. v. p. 259:—

former treaties, but bearable in comparison with the exactions which preceded it, and coupled with the assurance (*to be violated hereafter*), that from the date of this agreement His Excellency should not be charged with any excess on this sum, and no further demands should be made. Lord Cornwallis, moreover, interposed to curtail the clandestine pay and presents at that time received by the Company's officials; and in the minute by which he required that the Directors should be informed of these illegal levies, with a view to their suppression, he also insisted "that the troop which was raised and officered by order of Warren Hastings, and called 'Body Guard,' and which was paid by His Excellency the Vizier, should be abolished, *as it ought to have been long ago*, it being a very burdensome expense to His Excellency." At the same time he remarked on the charges of the Private Agent who had replaced the Resident, and which amounted to the annual sum of £112,950 sterling per annum, out of which £22,800 was the salary of the happy major who then occupied this lucrative post; and though his Lordship did not relieve the Wuzier of this expense, with a view, it is presumed, to negotiations for a re-establishment of the Residency, which had cost the Wuzier but £65,000 per annum, yet with reference to that office, when re-established, he laid down the following wise and considerate programme in his letter in the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties, etc..." page 64:—

"A Resident at present remains at your Excellency's Court, but as it is the intention of the Company and my firm resolution that *no interference shall take place in the details of the affairs of your Excellency's Government*, strict orders shall be sent to him that he shall neither interfere himself, nor suffer interference by public or private claims of exemptions of duties, or in any other mode,

"In the pecuniary burthen, however, he (the Marquis) admitted some alteration. It appeared that, during the nine preceding years, the Nawaub had paid to the Company, under different titles, at the rate of eighty-four lakhs of rupees per annum; though, by the treaty of 1775, he had bound himself to the annual payment of only 31,20,000 rupees, and by the treaty of 1781, to that of 34,20,000 rupees.

"It was agreed that fifty lakhs should be the annual payment of the Nawaub; and that this should embrace every possible claim. The Governor-General declared that this was sufficient to indemnify the Company for all the expense which it was necessary for them to incur in consequence of their connection with the Vizier. In other words, he declared that, *for the nine preceding years, unjustifiable extortion, to the amount of thirty-four lakhs per annum, had been practised on that dependent prince.*"

from any British subject, or person under the authority of this Government. In short, leaving the whole management of your country to your Excellency and your Ministers, I will put a stop to the interference of others. For several years past the inhabitants of your Excellency's dominions, from motives of self-interest, have appealed to this Government, and this has been a source of injury to your Government; I am determined to put a stop to this practice, and to disregard their applications; but as the connection between the two Governments is universally known, strict attention to justice on your part will add credit and renown to both." In conclusion, he declared it was not his intention to embarrass the Wuzier with any other demands than what were absolutely necessary, and that on the payment of certain arrears due to the Company's troops, the remainder was to be struck out of the account. The effect of his policy towards the Wuzier he describes in general terms, thus:—"We undertake the defence of his country, and in return he (the Wuzier) engages to defray the real expenses incurred by an engagement of so much value to himself; and the internal administration of his affairs is left to his exclusive management."* Such was the conclusion to which Lord Cornwallis was moved† by motives honourable to himself, by a consideration of his fair duty towards a faithful ally, and by his responsibility as a representative of British honour and justice. "*Si sic omnia!*" the descendants of our Indian statesmen might then recall their lineage and its traditions with pride; nor would they require garbled Blue Books with gaps and omissions to conceal from futurity the foul deeds of their ancestors.

*Papers relating to the East Indies, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1806, No. 2, Pp. 1-14.

†There is evidence in the broken report of Sheridan's speech on the Begums to show that a touching remonstrance was made by Asoph-ood-Dowlah (there miscalled Shoojah-ood-Dowlah) to his lordship. "When Lord Cornwallis spoke to the Wuzier, and recommended him to adopt some system of government that might restore the prosperity of his kingdom, and make his people happy, the Nabob's answer was strikingly remarkable. That degraded Prince said to his Lordship, that as long as the demands of the English Government upon the revenue of Oude should remain unlimited, he (the Nabob) could have no interest in establishing any system of economy; and whilst the English should continue to interfere in the internal government of his country it would be in vain for him to attempt any salutary reform, for his subjects knew he was only a cipher in his own dominions, and, therefore, laughed at and despised his authority, and that of his ministers."

The boons of Lord Cornwallis were conferred, however, only to be withdrawn after his departure by other hands; but the respite of the devoted province lasted for his time. A commercial treaty was concluded in 1788 between the Company and the Wuzier, in a fair and liberal spirit. The subsidy of fifty lakhs, under these conditions, as Lord Cornwallis admitted previous to his quitting India, and while admonishing the Wuzier, was paid with regularity. Oude was again prosperous, happy, and solvent. But the engagement that no further demands should be made, entered into by Lord Cornwallis with all solemnity, was, as we have already stated above, respected no longer than he himself remained in India. The succeeding Governor-General, Sir John Shore, required "the wretched Vizier" (to use the language of Mr. Mill) to add to his former subsidy the expense of one European and one native regiment of cavalry, provided the annual amount should not exceed five and a half lakhs of rupees. Thus the engagement of Lord Cornwallis was shamefully violated. Again the scale of charges and exactions, which the Wuzier must have regarded as finally fixed, began to mount, and gathering courage from his sense of the injustice, he boldly refused to pay one cowry more. Vain courage! Vain confidence in an incontestable promise and declared guarantee! The unsophisticated Wuzier had yet to learn to what lengths "sincere friendship and firm union" would encourage his disinterested allies. The British authorities suspecting, it is said, Maharajah Jhaoo Lall, his minister, to be the cause of his refusal, seized upon that gentleman, and, in despite of all the remonstrances of the Wuzier, detained him, although guiltless of any crime, as a state prisoner in their own territory; and then, to compel the Wuzier to grant the additional subsidy, Sir John Shore, in March, 1797, proceeded to Lucknow, and "by means of threats, artifices, etc.," forced him to make the addendum they required. Thus an additional body of troops, consisting of two regiments of cavalry, one of European and two of native infantry, was quartered upon the kingdom of Oude at an additional charge of five lakhs, and fifty thousand rupees annually; and another result was attained, which was probably neither desired nor deprecated:—Asoph-ood-Dowlah took his treatment so much to heart, that he fell ill and refused medicine, exclaiming, "There is no cure

for a broken heart;" and so, a few months subsequently, died, and left the Company, as their custom was, to improve the incident of a fresh succession.

Chapter III

SHOWING HOW THE SUBSIDY SYSTEM WAS STRETCHED TO THE UTMOST, AND FINALLY BROKE DOWN—AND HOW LORD WELLESLEY CONFISCATED THE DOAB AS A CONVENIENT EQUIVALENT.

In the first instance, after the death of Asoph-ood-Dowlah, the Company recognized the succession of Vizier Allie, his natural son; but seeing that a better bargain could be made with a brother of the deceased Wuzier, Sir John Shore repaired to Benares, and proposed to the latter, who was named Saadat Allie, to dethrone Vizier Allie, offering the support of the Company on the intelligible condition that the subsidy should be largely increased, and that their support should be paid for otherwise in money and kind. To this stipulation, bold and barefaced, the aspirant to the princedom "cheerfully consented," and, after a preliminary process at Lucknow, termed in the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties" "a full investigation," and purporting to be an inquiry into the spuriousness of Vizier Allie's birth, that Prince was deposed, and Saadat Allie was proclaimed in his stead, at Lucknow, on the 21st January, 1798. Then, on the 21st February, 1798, a treaty of seventeen articles, in its principal stipulations absolutely stinking of rupees, was signed in pursuance of the previous understanding between Saadat Allie and Sir John Shore.

We append in a note* the substance of the various articles seriatim, and trail of rupees will be found to run through them

*The treaty will be found in the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties, etc." pp. 71-74.—By article 1, the mutual conditions of friendship and unity previously subsisting, and also the former treaties, as far as consistent with the present, are upheld. By article 2, the *annual subsidy* hitherto paid by the Nawaub of Oude, amounting to something over fifty-six lakhs of rupees, *is now raised to seventy-six lakhs.* This sum, by article 3, is to be paid punctually

with a latitude and profusion which leaves no doubt as to the motives of one of the parties to the document. The Wuzier is to pay up arrears. The Wuzier is required to give up the fort of Allahabad, and to pay eight lakhs of rupees to put it in repair for the presentees. The Wuzier is to pay three lakhs for repairing fort Futty Guhr. The Wuzier is to pay expenses of moving troops,

by *monthly instalments*, and is to include (by article 6) the pensions of the Begums and Princes at Benares, amounting to a little over two lakhs and a quarter of rupees per annum. The *arrears* of subsidy due (article 4) are *to be immediately discharged*. The deposed Nawaub, Vizier Allie, by article 5, is to receive a pension of *one lakh and a half rupees*. In article 7 we find the supposed consideration for the increased subsidy. The British troops in Oude are never to be less than 10,000 men of all arms; should it become necessary at any time to augment this number beyond 13,000 the *Nawaub is to pay for the excess;* should the force ever fall below 8,000, there shall be a proportionate diminution in the amount of subsidy to be paid. Article 8 states that "As the English Company are not possessed of any fortress in the dominions of Oude, the Nawaub Saadat Allie Khan, having the fullest reliance on the friendship of the English Company, agrees to *make over to their exclusive possession the fort of Allahabad*, with all its buildings and appurtenances." *Eight lakhs of rupees are to be advanced to the Company* for the repairs of the fort of Allahabad, and *three lakhs more* for a similar purpose with respect to the fortress of Futty Guhr. By article 9, the troops so quartered upon the Nawaub may be removed to such quarters as may be deemed advisable, and the *Nawaub is to pay the cost thereof*. Next comes the direct cost of the musnud of Oude. In article 11 is an engagement by Saadat Allie to pay the Company *twelve lakhs* in consideration of the expenses attending their exertions in establishing his right. The next article binds the Nawaub to give satisfactory security to the Company in case of his payments falling into arrear. The subsequent articles relate to the non-correspondence with foreign states without the Company's knowledge, the non-employment of Europeans in Oude without permission, and an enforcement of economy in all branches of the State.

To sum up the money value of the whole:—

	Rs.
By article 2.—For the support of their increased military establishment, partly for protection of their own dominions, the Company obtained, in excess of the annual subsidy ..	5,677,638
The further sum of	1,922,362
Total ..	7,600,000
Article 4.—Payment of arrears	
Article 8.—Nabob gives the fort of Allahabad to E. I. Company, and for repairs	800,000
For fort Futty Guhr	300,000
Article 9.—Nabob pays expenses of moving troops ..	
Article 10.—Nabob pays E. I. Company for exertions ..	1,200,000
Total payment to E. I. Company	9,900,000
Besides, by article 5, which shows the further sum of ..	1,500,000
Total ..	10,050,000

or one million of money obtained by the E. I. Company, and the fort of Allahabad.

the number of lakhs being as yet indefinite. The Wuzier is to pay the Company twelve lakhs in consideration of their expenses in establishing his right. The Wuzier is to pay a pension of one lakh and a half to his deposed rival. And lastly, by article 2, the annual subsidy paid by the Wuzier, and which amounted to something over fifty-six lakhs, is now raised to seventy-six lakhs, that is to say, from about £555,000 a year, the subsidy is screwed up to £760,000. In all, a million sterling, and the fort of Allahabad are obtained in a single year by the East India Company, half of it in violation of the engagements of Lord Cornwallis, and in virtue of the union now growing firmer between themselves and the victim in their coils. A few months later they even attempted to dispossess the latter of the Doab country, and Sir John Shore, then Lord Teignmouth, wrote a letter, dated October 3, 1798, to the Resident at Lucknow, with this object. "If," said he, "we cannot take it as rulers and sovereigns, we might manage to take it on a lease, in the same manner as it is held by Almas Allie Khan, and on his death we *will take possession of the whole*." The Resident was also instructed to induce the Nawaub Wuzier to disband his own army, and replace it by the Company's troops*. All Europeans, *except the servants of the Company*, were, without any distinction whatsoever, to be banished from His Excellency's country, one object of this arbitrary measure obviously being, that the exactions and other acts of injustice of which the local Government and their officers were at this time guilty, might not get wind, and by reaching the ears of the British public, come, like the atrocities of Hastings, under the cognizance of Parliament.

By these stringent proceedings we are prepared for that further measure, the treaty of 1801, on which so much turns at

*"From the correspondence which passed between the Governor-General of India in Council, and the Court of Directors, from the 17th April, 1798, to the 15th May, 1799, it is perfectly evident that the Oude Government was under no apprehensions of any enemy either from without or within, and therefore did not stand in need of any alliance, either offensive or defensive, with the Indian Government. Such being the state of things, the home authorities directed the local Government to disband the new troops they had raised for Oude, as from their being no occasion for their services, they were only an unnecessary expense to the Government of that country. The Indian authorities, however, did not think proper to break up the strength of their Indian army, but, at the same time, anxious to exempt the Company from the expenses occasioned by it, they saddled the Nawaub Vizier with the latter."—*M. M. Musseehood-deen.*

this very moment, and which was the alleged basis of Lord Dalhousie's notorious proclamation. But before we refer to its provision, or even to its preliminaries, we must recall the particulars of our treatment of Oude up to this period. Their history may be antiquated; but their history is material, and may be said even to lie at the root of the question of our moral right to annex this fated province. These treaties and acts, which we recall and gibbet, were the earlier steps in a consistent process, by which the Company has robbed the rulers of Oude of wealth, station, and dominion. Their natural consequence was to produce confusion; and if they failed to produce all the confusion alleged by the latest official depredators, to whom was its avoidance owing? The Company and their servants, up to this date, did their "possible" in this behalf. They drained the territory of Oude of every rupee they could wring from it. They played the part of great dacoits on a scale most oppressive to its frugal ryots and industrious cultivators. They plundered the revenues of Wuzier, nobles, and people, on the plea of defending those who were competent to defend themselves against the force of any *native* adversary, and they appropriated their soldiers and military resources, while they charged them tribute for the bereavement. They took territory as well as revenues, and they curtailed income as they increased expenditure. By the treaty of the 20th March, 1772, they took the fort of Chunar; by that of the 21st May, 1775, they took the districts of Benares, Guzeepore, Caunpore, etc. They had taken the fort of Futty Guhr in 1787. They took the fort of Allahabad in 1798; and they were now preparing to take the Doab, *if they could manage to get it on a lease*—if, in short, they could get only a right of entry. At the same time, through the instrumentality of a Resident, they were admonishing, meddling, making, unmaking, and degrading, as far as they could, the Princes of Oude into puppets after they had succeeded in converting their dominions into a farm. At this stage they began to remonstrate, and recommend reforms, with the sententious air of benevolent bystanders, as if they, and they alone, were not entirely answerable for the mischief thus caused, and which ever after they persisted in as mischievously exaggerating.

We are now coming to just such a phase in their conduct, and of which we shall find plentiful repetitions hereafter, especially

in the Oude Blue Book, which is a mass of such pretentious strictures. Lord Mornington (better known as Marquis Wellesley), arrived in Calcutta in the month of May, 1798. In October of the same year he had "under his consideration the best means of securing the regular payment of the subsidy from Oude, and of reforming the Nawaub's army."* "This reform," says Mr. Hale, in his pamphlet on the Oude question, and referring to the Printed Paper, iii. 2, 3, "really meant the disbanding of the Nawaub's regular army, except as far as portions of it might be wanted for purposes of state, or for the collection of the revenue, and the substitution of an *increased* number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by the Nawaub. The Nawaub Wuzier, however, in alarm at this proposal, spoke of abdicating. Lord Wellesley on this at once stated the grand object which he considered the Company had in view, and this was, 'The acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude.'† With this view a treaty was ultimately drawn up, the first article of which involved the virtual abdication of the Nawaub. But on this being presented to him, the Nawaub positively refused to sign any such agreement. The Governor-General entered into negotiations which extended over several months, in the course of which he admitted that 'his original object was not merely to secure the subsidiary funds, but to extinguish the Nawaub's military power.' "‡

Some particulars of these negotiations may delay the course of the narrative, but they are so illustrative of the Company's dealings with the Princes of Oude, that it is neither right nor expedient to omit them here. Without allowing the Nawaub time to draw up the remonstrance above mentioned, the additional troops had been actually ordered into Oude; and the ground on which this measure was attempted to be justified was this: that, as the Company was bound by Lord Teignmouth's treaty to defend the Nawaub's possessions, that treaty must be understood to confer upon them, by implication, the power of

*Papers relating to the East Indies, printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1806, v. 3.

†Printed Papers *ut supra*, 31.

‡Printed Papers, 213.

augmenting the British forces stationed in Oude entirely *at their own pleasure*, and even in spite of the Nawaub's assent, whenever *they* should think such a measure necessary to the discharge of their defensive engagements with the Nawaub. It was further contended that the latter was bound to maintain any number of troops which the Company might station in his dominions, because one article of the treaty obliges him so to do whenever an augmentation of his British auxiliary force "should be thought necessary." As soon, therefore, as one division of the troops, destined by the British authorities, in the manner above described, to occupy certain portions of the Oude dominions, had been stationed there, and the Nawaub had been compelled to become responsible for their pay, and while another body was ordered to hold itself in readiness to march after them, the Nawaub Wuzier Saadat Allie addressed the following memorial to the Governor-General, through the Resident at Lucknow:—

TRANSLATION OF A MEMORIAL, presented on the 11th of January, 1800, to LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM SCOTT, Resident at Lucknow, by H. E. the NAWAUB VIZIER; for the GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"The real state of the case is as follows:—

"For these eighty and odd years these provinces have been under the most perfect and uncontrolled sway of my ancestors; and, from the time of my deceased father, treaties of amity have subsisted between the Honourable Company and this Government, by which the latter has been much strengthened.

"During the lifetime of my late brother, affairs between the two States went on as usual; numerous were the enemies he had to contend with, and frequent were the disturbances and mutinies that took place amongst his soldiery; nay, they even proceeded to such lengths, that during the late Rohilla war two complete battalions—as your Lordship may have heard—meditated going over to the enemy. Notwithstanding these circumstances, it never once entered the imagination of the British rulers to introduce the innovations, and carry into effect such arrangements as those now suggested by your Lordship.

"Through the favour of the Company, and assisted by their power, I ascended my hereditary musnud; and it being, in all ages and countries, the practice of powerful and liberal

sovereigns to spare neither expense nor trouble in assisting those whom they may have once taken under their protection, I, being solely dependent on the Honourable Company, and confidently trusting to their magnanimity and generosity, fully expected that during my government the affairs of the country would shine forth with a splendour beyond that of my predecessors.

"The reputation of the Company will last *until the day of judgment.*" (We might almost infer from this assurance that Saadat Allie was a wag.)

"God forbid that during my time any changes or degrading innovations should, without any cause, take place, or that the ancient servants of the family should, for the crimes and misconduct of a few worthless wretches, be deprived of their subsistence, and being turned on the world, disperse my infamy abroad; whilst those who remain in my country, becoming my deadly foes, will disseminate enmity and distrust of me amongst those of my servants who may be retained, who will say amongst themselves, 'These people were dismissed yesterday, to-morrow our turn will come,' until at length the whole of my servants will become my inveterate enemies; from which predicament may God defend me.

"What affects me above all things is, that by acting thus, the credit and honour of the Company will suffer, and I myself shall no longer be held in estimation, either abroad or in my own country. It will then be evident to every person, that the Company, no longer putting confidence in the sincerity of my friendship, deprived me of the direction of my own army, and spread their troops over my dominions.

"Should such an event take place, my authority in these provinces would be annihilated; nor would my orders be attended to on any occasion, whether trifling or of moment; whilst any extraordinary exertions in paying the subsidy regularly, would become labour thrown away.

"Making myself, however, sure that it never can have been your intention, or conformable to your Lordship's wish, to distrust, to degrade me, or to lessen my authority in these dominions, I shall, without ceremony, disclose to your Lordship my unfeigned sentiments and wishes. With the advice of, and in concert with the Company, I consider myself fully capable

of carrying into effect every necessary measure of reform, and, through their kindness, I have neither fears nor apprehensions; reckoning it my indispensable duty, above every consideration, to satisfy and obey them, I shall never swerve a hair's breadth from the treaty concluded with them on my ascending the musnud; whilst, from their known good faith and strict adherence to treaties, I am also certain that no breach of the said treaty is intended on their part.

"This premised, I must trouble your Lordship with a few remarks upon the treaty above alluded to.

"The second article of the aforesaid treaty sets forth that, 'By existing treaties between the States, the Honourable Company are bound to defend the dominions of the said Nawaub Vizier against all enemies; and, with a view to enable them to fulfil this engagement, the Company have largely increased their military establishment by new levied regiments, both of infantry and cavalry; in consideration whereof, the aforesaid Nawaub agrees, in addition to the annual subsidy (being Lucknow Sicca rupees, 5,677,638), to pay the further sum of 1,922,362 rupees, making altogether the sum of seventy-six lakhs of rupees, of the present weight and standard.'

"By a reference to this article, it will be evident to your Lordship, that, on my accession to the musnud, the force designed for the defence of these dominions was increased beyond what it had been in any former period, whilst, on my part, I agreed to defray the expense of the said augmentation. But in no part of the said article is it written or hinted, that after the lapse of a certain number of years a further permanent augmentation should take place; and to deviate in any degree from the said treaty appears to me unnecessary.

"The seventh article of the same treaty states, that 'the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, Bart., on the part of the Company agrees, that the English forces maintained in the country of Oude for its defence, shall never consist of less than 10,000 men, including Europeans and natives, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; and if it should become necessary to augment the troops of the Company in Oude, beyond the number of 13,000 men, including Europeans and natives, cavalry, &c. &c., the Nawaub Vizier above mentioned agrees to pay the actual difference occasioned by the excess above the number; and, in the

same manner, if the troops of the Company in Oude, from any necessity should be less than 8,000 men, including infantry, &c. &c., a deduction shall be made from the annual stipend of seventy-six lakhs, equal to the actual difference of men below the specified number.'

"From an inspection of the article we learn that, after the conclusion of the treaty in question, no further augmentation is to be made, excepting in case of necessity; and that the increase is to be proportioned to the emergency, and endure but as long as the necessity exists. An 'augmentation' of the troops without existing necessity, and making me answerable for the expense 'attending the increase,' is inconsistent with the treaty, and seems inexpedient.

"By the same article, the increase of the force when necessity requires, and a corresponding deduction from the stipend, when a reduction of the army takes place, are evident.

"Towards the latter end of the seventeenth article it is stipulated, 'That all transactions between the two States shall be carried on with the greatest cordiality and harmony; and that the said Nawaub shall possess full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects.' Should the management of the army be taken from under my direction, I ask where is my authority over my household affairs, hereditary dominions, over my troops and my subjects?

"From the above considerations, and from the magnanimity of the Sircar of the English Company, I am induced to expect from your Lordship's kindness, that, putting the fullest trust and confidence in my friendship and attachment on every occasion, you, in conformity to the treaty, will leave me in possession of the full authority over my dominions, army, and subjects; and further, I have to request that you will enjoin Lieut.-Colonel Scott to advise and consult with me, when (with that gentleman's assistance), God willing, the necessary military arrangements shall speedily be made, and the whole of my troops become henceforth obedient, submissive, and ready for action; whilst, indebted to your Lordship's kindness, I myself shall continue obedient to your commands, consulting your pleasure in all things.

"The fame of the Company will, by these means, be diffused over the face of the earth; and, my reputation increasing, I shall continue to offer up prayers for the prosperity of the Company.

"Thus, with the freedom of friendship, I have exposed to your Lordship the secrets and wishes of my heart. The delay that has occurred in answering your letter, was occasioned by my wish to give you in detail the whole of my desires; your friendship leaves no doubt of your Lordship's compliance with them.

(Signed) WM. YULE, Assistant

Lucknow, 12th January, 1800."

(A true translation).

To this remonstrance, as reasonably stated as it was justly founded, the following haughty reply was made by the Governor-General, in a letter to Lieut.-Colonel Scott, the Resident at Lucknow:—

"SIR,

Par. 1. "Your letter of the 12th inst., with its several inclosures, has been received by the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Par. 2. "His Lordship not thinking proper to receive, in its present form, the written communication made to you by the Nawaub Vizier, on the 11th inst., as an answer to His Lordship's letter of the 5th of November last to His Excellency, directs that you lose no time in returning the original of that communication to His Excellency, accompanying the delivery of it with the following observations, in the name of the Governor-General.

Par. 3. "The mode adopted in the present instance by His Excellency, of replying to a public letter from the Governor-General, attested by His Lordship's seal and signature, and written on a subject of the most momentous concern to the mutual interests of the Company and of His Excellency, besides indicating a *levity* unsuitable to the occasion, is highly deficient in the respect due from His Excellency to the first British authority in India.

Par. 4. "His Lordship, therefore, declines making any remarks on the paper which you have transmitted, and desires that the Nawaub Vizier may be called on to reply to His Lordship's letter of the 5th of November, in the manner prescribed, no less by reason than by established usage. If, in formally answering His Lordship's letter, His Excellency should think proper to impeach the honour and justice of the British Government, in similar terms to those employed in the paper delivered to you on the 11th inst., the Governor-General will

then consider how such unfounded calumnies and gross misrepresentations, both of facts and arguments, deserve to be noticed."

On the subject of this correspondence it is here appropriate to append the remarks of Mr. Mill, in his "History of British India," vol. vi. p. 191:—"A party to a treaty fulfils all its conditions with a punctuality, which, in his place, was altogether unexampled; a gross infringement of that treaty, or at least, what appears to him a gross infringement, is about to be committed on the other side; he points out clearly, but in the most humbled language, savouring of abjectness much more than disrespect, the inconsistency which appears to him to exist between the treaty and the conduct; this is represented by the other party as an impeachment of their honour and justice; and if no guilt existed before to form a ground for punishing the party who declines compliance with their will, a guilt is now contracted which hardly any punishment can expiate. This, it is evident, is a course by which no infringement of a treaty can ever be destitute of a justification. If the party injured submits without a word, his consent is alleged. If he complains, he is treated as impeaching the honour and justice of his superior; a crime of so prodigious a magnitude, as to set the superior above all obligation to such a worthless connection."

In a further letter, dated the 22nd January, 1801, Lord Wellesley peremptorily required Saadat Allie either to resign his princely authority altogether, and accept an annual stipend, or to cede one-half of his territorial possessions to the Company by way of indemnity for the expenses incurred on account of the two bodies of troops already mentioned. The draft of a treaty to this effect was at the same time forwarded, as well as the necessary instructions to the Resident.

The aspect of the case was not this. The Company were no longer content with the annual seventy-six lakhs of rupees guaranteed them in addition to other items by the treaty of 1798, but they demanded, and, as will be shortly seen by the first article of the treaty of 1801 they acquired possession of a district having a gross revenue of 13,500,000 rupees, or an annual income of fifty-nine lakhs over and above the subsidy for which it was substantially treated as a commutation. The Wuzier at first remonstrated against the demand, urged as usual in violation

of *an existing* treaty, but the Governor-General, without deigning to answer him, addressed a letter dated April 28th, 1801, to the Resident, authorising him, in the event of the Wuzier not consenting to make over the said provinces to the Company, *to take forcible possession* of the same; and instructing him, moreover, not to wait for further advice on the subject, but to act upon the present orders of the Governor-General; in short, instigating him to an act of dacoitee second only to that in which the Marquis of Dalhousie has so recently involved the reputation of General Outram.

Some expressions from Lord Wellesley's letter have been already cited, and they are here given with the context of that pretence on which Oude was to be despoiled consistently henceforth, and on which much will be said before this statement is concluded. "I am satisfied," says Lord Wellesley, "that no effectual security can be provided against the ruin of the province of Oude until the exclusive management of the civil and military government of that country shall be transferred intact to the Company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of His Excellency and of his family. No other remedy can effect any considerable improvement in the resources of the state, or can ultimately secure its external safety and internal peace." It might be asked, if no other remedy was available to avert the ruin of Oude, how came it that Lord Wellesley, absolute master as he was of the fate of the country, did not enforce this remedy? Did he fear the condemnation of English opinion? Did he hesitate in apprehension of the fate of Hastings? Or did he shrink from a measure which, on subsequent considerations, he himself could not justify, and so leave half the prey to the grasp of future spoilers? It is impossible to answer these questions satisfactorily, and to determine wherefore, when the real object was so manifest, the pretext and the victim were permitted to linger for another half century.*

*Great as was the sacrifice required from the Nawaub by this treaty, the wonder is it was not greater, if it be considered that, according to Lord Wellesley's own letters to Col. Scott, his Lordship's "object being the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude;" "nothing should be allowed to impede the grand object—*the sole administration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the state of Oude,* together *with the full and entire right and title to the revenues thereof.*"

Lord Wellesley, at all events, did not appropriate the entire province, but when his intention to take half the Wuzier's territory was announced, the latter, apprehending that the end had commenced, exclaimed, "If such be, indeed, the case, it will not be long ere the remaining portions of the country will be wrested from me." It proved longer than he expected: for those portions were made available to the Company's coffers, as the sequel will prove, notwithstanding they were henceforth to be released from the subsidy. At the same time, it required all the assurances of the Resident and of the Governor's private secretary, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, to induce him to attach any value to the promise that he should have an undisturbed authority over the territory left to him; and in fact he at first seriously contemplated a voluntary exile from his native land and a pilgrimage to the holy places of his religion and to foreign climes, leaving his oppressors to act as they might think fit during his absence. "Let me," said he, "speedily be permitted to depart on my travels and pilgrimage, for I shall consider it a disgrace to show my face to the people here." But this intention was too hopeless and despairing for adoption, and eventually the Wuzier consented to sign the treaty placed before him, after discussion and expostulation had proved to be vain. Thus an act of tyranny was consummated, and the treaty was procured on which so much stress has been unwarrantably laid. Thus, and by such preliminaries, it was forced upon our reluctant Ally. The Company first poured upon the Wuzier such numbers of troops, they heaped demand upon demand on him so incessantly, that at length his resources became inadequate to their payment; and then, when he was compelled to make an avowal of such inadequacy, they seized upon that avowal as a ground for demanding a perpetual cession of one-half his remaining territory. In short, to put the matter in its true light, they took away half his possessions because they had exhausted his purse, and in token of their "friendship and union" they made him bound to them—by a halter.

The treaty which accomplished these infamous results was signed on the 14th November, 1801, and some account must now be given of its principal provisions. Its first article is that which pays off the mortgage with a portion of the estate enormously beyond its value. The districts to be ceded, with their revenues, amounting in gross to one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees,

in commutation of the subsidy, &c., are scheduled in full; and if the reader will refer to the map of India published by Mr. Wyld, he will see that these districts are the very Doab coveted by Sir John Shore in 1798, the country which we could not then take "as rulers and sovereigns," of which we then desired "a lease" as a transition to permanent ownership, but which we now took without any such preliminary formality. Included in this country, also, will be found the identical districts of Allahabad, Corah, and Currah, which the Company had sold "*for ever*" to Shoojah-ood-Dowlah in 1773 for half a million sterling. Thus the Nawaub was stripped of his most valued possessions, while, as to the remainder, it will be seen what securities were taken for a further interference with his government and ownership. The rest of the articles are abstracted in a note;* and it will be seen from these that by article 4, British detachment is always to be attached to his person, and that by article 6, he is expected to "*advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company.*" The engagements in this article are especially material, as they

*By Art. 2.—The subsidy is to cease (guaranteed in 1798), and no calls to be made for any additional troops required at any time to protect the territories of the Nawaub.

Art. 3.—The Company to defend the Nawaub's dominions, with the right of stationing troops at will. The Nawaub to retain in his pay four battalions of infantry, one battalion of nujeebs and mulvattees, 2,000 horsemen, and golundauz to the number of 300. He is to dismiss the remainder of his troops, excepting such numbers of armed peons as shall be deemed necessary for the purposes of all collections, and a few horsemen and nujeebs to attend the persons of the Aumils.

Art. 4.—A British detachment is always to be attached to the person of the Nawaub.

Art. 5.—No further demand from any cause whatever is to be made upon the treasury of the Nawaub.

Art. 6.—The ceded territories are to be subject to the exclusive control and management of the Company and their officers, the Company guaranteeing to the Nawaub, his heirs, and successors, the possession of the remaining territories, and the exercise of their authority therein. The Nawaub engaging to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants. The Nawaub will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company.

Art. 7.—The subsidy payment is only to cease on full possession being obtained by the Company of the ceded districts.

Art. 8.—Relates to the formation of a separate commercial treaty, and the navigation of the Ganges.

Art. 9.—All the Articles of former treaties for establishing and cementing the union and friendship subsisting between the two States, not annulled by this treaty, are to remain in full force, and to continue binding.

Art. 10.—This treaty was concluded on the 10th of November, 1808.

furnish the plea on which Lord Dalhousie confessedly proceeds, half a century later, to final confiscation, without regard to treaties made subsequently, and, as will be seen hereafter, without reason, if this present treaty still subsisted, for wresting, from it a sanction for his independent act of violence.

This treaty, however, was signed, and the manner in which it was extorted may be collected from the Wuzier's expressions on a subsequent occasion. In a memorandum of the result of certain discussions between him and the Governor-General, and which will be found in the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties, &c;" immediately following the treaty of 1801, the Wuzier says, "I have been induced to cede the districts for the charges of the troops, merely to gratify his Lordship, deeming it necessary so to do in consequence of Mr. Wellesley's arrival, resolving to conform to his Lordship's *commands*." The memorandum above referred to contains a paper of propositions transmitted by the Nawaub Wuzier for the Governor-General's assent, with the Governor-General's answers to each of the articles detailed, for the most part in approval of the Wuzier's proposals. The principal object of these proposals was to impart additional strength and stability to the Wuzier's authority, and to prevent the undue interference and meddling of the Residents; and in this respect Lord Wellesley gave some reasonable satisfaction to the Wuzier, and appears to have contemplated and laid down a course of conduct which his successors and their subordinates as usual departed from widely. Thus Lord Wellesley availed himself of the opportunity to state the general principles upon which the connection and intercourse between the Wuzier and the Company were henceforth to be regulated; and delusive enough these principles appear, if we read them by the light of their subsequent infringement.

Speaking of the duty of the Resident towards His Excellency, the Governor-General says:—"*The Resident must advise the Nawaub with perfect cordiality, and must employ every endeavour to coincide with His Excellency in a uniform course of measures,* and to unite sincerely with His Excellency in carrying into effect, *exclusively under His Excellency's authority, and through His Excellency's officers,* those measures which shall be determined upon in conformity to the counsels of the British Government. In cases requiring the aid of the British Government, or the assistance of the British troops,

they shall be employed according to the exigency of the occasion.

"*The Resident* must conduct himself towards the Nawaub Vizier, on all occasions, with the utmost degree of *respect, conciliation, and attention*, and must maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions, and *must endeavour to impart strength and stability to His Excellency's authority.*

"*The Resident must never proceed to act* in the affairs of the reserved dominions, *without previous consultation with His Excellency or with his ministers*, and the Resident must, in the first instance, observe strict secrecy with regard to the subject of such consultations, until the measure to be adopted shall be finally determined."

Compare with these principles, thus emphatically stated, the subsequent conduct of Colonel Sleeman and others, the direct and independent interference with the Oude Government, the refusal to assist the Wuzier with counsel, and at the same time to free him from a rigorous constraint, the general tendency being to undermine and destroy, instead of imparting "strength and stability to his authority," and these principles will be found to have had as little effect as the sermons of the Directors when in conflict with their rapacity, or as the Tenth Commandment itself while there was still an Oude to covet. Mr. Mill, as usual, has discerned the true bearing of these principles in the views of those who came afterwards to interpret them. Referring to the practical result he remarks that, "The impatient desire to extinguish the "military power of the Vizier, exhibits the sort of relation in which the English Government wishes to stand with its allies. It exhibits, also, *the basis of hypocrisy*, on which that Government has so much endeavoured to build itself. The Nawaub was stripped of his dominions; yet things were placed in such a form, that it might still be affirmed he possessed them."*

It is remarkable, on the other hand, that Lord Wellesley himself, though he participated in these views, should nevertheless have intended to allow so much latitude to the Wuziers of Oude in the government of their dominions; and it is a fair inference therefrom, that he was not so much impressed by the statements of their misgovernment as he or others affected to be.

*"History of British India," vol. vi. p. 214.

It was subsequently declared, in the strongest and most explicit terms, by several of the Company's servants, best acquainted with Indian affairs, in their examination before the House of Commons in 1806, that not in respect to army, judicature, or taxation, was the situation of Oude more unfavourable than that of other native Governments of India, with which it might truly be regarded upon a level. It was superior at all events to the Government of Bengal, which had come into the hands of the Company, and which the Company had at this time deteriorated, if we may trust the official reports of its own most experienced servants. Thus, we conclude, there was no sufficient ground for meddling with it, and that therefore it remained after the cession of the treaty of 1801, for a season, undisquieted. In fact, there is an interval in its history from this date, and we hear no more of it, except of friendly services from its Wuzier to his covetous allies* until the 11th of July, 1814, when Saadat Allie himself departed this life, and the Company's cleverest servants could despoil him no further.

With Saadat Allie the subsidy system, which had been made a means of plundering three successive monarchs, came, as we have seen, to an apparent end. As is shown by the Marquis of Hastings, in a minute of the 3rd of February, 1816, Lord Wellesley had foreseen the difficulties in which it would involve us. "The system of *attracting* the native sovereigns into subsidiary engagements, the work of a truly able statesman, had its inherent "defects." Accordingly, in the case of Oude, it was suspended and set aside for other agencies more insidious

Translation of a Letter from the MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, late Governor-General, to the Address of NAWAUB SAADAT ALLIE, August 20, 1803.

"I feel myself very much and highly pleased to hear from Colonel Scott that your Excellency has kindly offered to supply a number of horses from your stable for the Company's troops now marching towards the British army. This *friendly aid* which your Excellency has liberally afforded on this emergent occasion, has been esteemed *a new proof of your fidelity and good feelings towards the British Government.* Colonel Scott's request, on behalf of the Government to your Excellency for the horses, must be held as equivalent to his having conveyed my sentiments to your Excellency before I could express them. Your immediate and kind compliance with my request respecting the supply of cattle, is *an indelible mark of your courtesy and sincerity towards the Honourable Company,* and has also laid *a heavy load of obligation upon my shoulders;* and what I have written in acknowledgment thereof is in the proportion of a thousand to one as to what ought to have been written. I hope your Excellency will believe me constantly desirous of hearing tidings of your good health, and that you will always honour me with letters expressive of the same happy news."

and more gradually subversive of the native government. At this point, therefore, we may recapitulate its history to remark the mischief it had already accomplished. By the treaty of Allahabad, in 1765, it bound the Nawaub to defray the *extraordinary* expense of any military force which we might afford him in the exigency of his affairs. In 1768 this exigency was insured by restricting the number of his own soldiery. In 1773 a brigade was quartered on him at the rate of 2,10,000 Sicca rupees per month. The Company engaged that "*no more should on any account be demanded of him,*" and in 1775 the price of this brigade was raised to his successor 50,000 rupees per month, or from a monthly charge of £26,250 to £32,503. In 1777 an *additional* brigade, called "temporary," was quartered on him, and became permanent, notwithstanding his protests, and an undertaking on the part of Warren Hastings for its speedy removal. To the additional brigade other items were added, till, in 1786, a subsidy of thirty-four lakhs of rupees required by treaty had been actually raised by high pressure to eighty-four lakhs per annum. This subsidy, in 1787, Lord Cornwallis reduced to fifty lakhs; but for the fifty lakhs he obtained an engagement by treaty which had hitherto extended only to thirty-four lakhs. Again the sum was finally fixed; and again, in 1797, it was raised by Sir John Shore five lakhs and a half, or £55,000 per annum for two more regiments quartered upon the reluctant Wuzier. In 1798 the same performer, taking advantage of the accession of Saadat Allie, hoisted the subsidy at a bound from £555,000 to £760,000 a year; and when, as was natural, this exorbitant levy fell into arrears, thereupon came Lord Wellesley, who took in exchange for the subsidy the Doab, a country with a revenue of £1,352,347 sterling. Such, in the briefest possible compass, were our successive claims on the revenues of Oude (and on the population for which we now profess so much solicitude) under the subsidy system as applied through three successive reigns. Such, pensive reader, up to this point, is the sum of this pretty history.

Chapter IV

SHOWING HOW, IN DEFAULT OF OTHER MEANS, THE COMPANY WORKED GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN AS A "MINE OF MUNIFICENCE."

GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN was the successor of his father Saadat Allie; but so much had been squeezed out of his reluctant parent that really there was no hope of a further bargain with himself. He actually escaped the usual incident of the sacrifice of a fertile province or of a hillock of rupees as the price of his accession; and he entered into covenant with the East India Company without costly ceremonies or a painful initiation. It is true his father had paid for him in advance by a cession of territory; and his father had obtained a treaty at this excessive price, which, though it has been otherwise interpreted since, afforded him practically the liberty of governing according to his own judgment the considerable territory which still remained to him. As he was free from interference, he governed effectually, and instead of a deficit, he left upon his decease a very considerable surplus in his exchequer. This surplus, of course, found its way into the coffers of the Company by agencies which will be duly recounted hereafter. But the other and usual methods of plunder were suspended; mutual recognitions of existing treaties were executed on the accession of the new sovereign; and without any apparent *refresher* in his behalf, it was agreed that they should "be observed and kept *till the end of time*."

Something more even than this was obtained by the Wuzier, in engagements as to how these treaties were to be interpreted. The treaty of 1801 gave a vague sanction to requirements of the Resident, a sanction which was explained away by Lord Wellesley, but which might, nevertheless, cause inconvenience

hereafter. As if to anticipate and preclude the very use to which it was afterwards turned by Lord Dalhousie, the Wuzier, on the 12th November, 1814, submitted to the Governor-General certain propositions, which, with the respective replies, are worthy of close observation. The propositions in question are the first and fifth out of seven which the Wuzier made in all, and they will be now given, with the immediate answers and the *further* promises which they elicited.

Prop. 1. Whatever portion of territory was held by my late father, until the hour of his decease, and by our Lordship's placing me on the musnud, has descended as an inheritance to me; let my power and authority be exercised over it, as in the time of my father, and let not a purgunnah or a village, therefore, on any occasion, or by any change, be separated from my rule, but let it be confirmed to me and to my posterity to the latest generation.

The following is the Governor-General's reply:—

"I have no other view," he says, "than the placing the Nawaub Vizier in that relative situation, with regard to the British Government, which clear and undeniable justice demands, and which, therefore, must be the wish of our nation. The effect of my procedure would be, undoubtedly, to give to His Excellency's Government character and efficiency in a degree which could not fail to satisfy all His Excellency's wishes on that head."

Prop. 5. If any one of my relations, dependents, servants, or subjects, shall go to your Lordship or to Calcutta to complain, any little attention or regard to the subject of his complaint will be the cause of impairing my dignity and consequence, and will excite others to follow the same course, and be a source of trouble to your Lordship. I hope that immediately on their being heard, this answer will be given to them:—That they must go and refer their complaints to their own Sovereign. In the event of their persevering and being urgent, let them be turned away with a sharp reprimand, that this my authority and dignity may be upheld, and the door be shut against evil; for three degrees of adawlut (courts of judicature) have been established here; and if, notwithstanding this, a person seeks to go from here, it is a proof that his claim is unjust.

Answer:—"I can have no hesitation in promising this in

the fullest manner, with no other reservation than what may be necessary for the fulfilment of the engagements of the British Government, in cases where its guarantee is pledged."

The last paragraph but one of the Governor-General's letter, containing the answers to the propositions, and which is dated Camp, Mohanah, 12th of November, 1814, contains, moreover, the following promise:—

"The British Government is perfectly disposed to render the succession to the musnud of Oude in the family of the present Nawaub Vizier secure and unquestionable. If the line of that succession, as defined by the law, and recognised in principle by the country, be certified to the Governor-General, the British Government will have no hesitation to guarantee it."

Moreover, in a letter addressed to Mr. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, by J. Adam, Secretary to the Government, and dated Camp, Mohanah, 12th November, 1814, the Secretary more distinctly says, ¶18: "The reservation by treaty of a right to interfere with advice or remonstrance upon any management of affairs within the Nawaub's reserved dominions, which may injuriously affect the British interests, clearly implies that, *in all other respects*, the administration of the Nawaub is to be free; but, indeed, it is evident from the whole tenor of the treaty, that *an uninterrupted exercise of his own authority within the reserved dominions*, was assured to him in order to justify *the very strong step* which we took in appropriating to ourselves (as an exchange for the subsidy) so large a portion of his territories. *The Nawaub is, consequently, to be treated in all public observances as an independent Prince.* Essentially he must be subservient to the British Government; but in proportion as that point is secure, personal attentions to him involve no inconvenience, and on the other hand they cannot but be productive of advantage."

There is a looseness of expression in this last sentence, by which, nevertheless, we merely understand that, as respects "British interests," the consideration reserved above, the Nawaub is to follow the lead of the British Government, and is in this sense to be subservient to it; but as respects the internal management of his country, where British interests are not affected, there can be no doubt whatever that the preceding sentences

denote explicitly his complete independence. He is to be treated "*as an independent Prince*" in all public observances. The exercise of his authority in his own reserved dominions is to be "*uninterrupted;*" so little excuse is afforded, thus far, for its interruption by a busy Resident. To complete this construction of the treaty, if anything was wanting, we have a minute of the Governor-General two years later, which leaves no doubt what was at that date the profession of the Indian Government.

"When the heavily reluctant assent of Saadat Allie was obtained for the cession of a large portion of his dominion, in commutation of the pecuniary contributions which he was bound to pay for the subsidiary force, the most distinct assurance was pledged to him by treaty, for *his independent exercise of authority within the remainder of his territories. * * The punctual observance of this contract was imperiously binding on our honour, our probity and our interests.*"—*Minute of the Governor-General, 3rd February, 1816, sec. 83.* * *

"The policy which appeared to me recommended, no less by our convenience than by our good faith, *was to observe strictly* the true and obvious spirit of our engagements with the Sovereign of Oude, by leaving him *a free agent in the internal government of his own dominions, interfering with that advice which to him must be injunction, only in cases where the real importance of our mutual interests required it*"—*Ibid, sec. 86.*

These statements must be borne in mind in the latter part of this narrative, especially with reference to the conduct of the Resident, Colonel Sleeman. Thus far they show that there was, for a season, an intention on the part of some in authority to carry out Lord Wellesley's arrangement in letter and in spirit, and having deprived the Wuzier of so much of his territory, really to leave him his sovereign rights over the residue.

Moreover, Oude was freed from exactions in the form of subsidies by the same hard but definitive bargain; yet in respect of money, of course, there were other means of relieving its Princes of any tempting superfluity, and these means were resorted to as we now proceed to mention. Ghazee-ood-Deen became by the death of the Bahoo Begum, the lady whom Warren Hastings had maltreated, the heir to all her property, movable and immovable; but the Company interposed, and took possession of nearly a crore of rupees; and after the accounts were

adjusted, returned only a few thousand rupees to the Wuzier, having kept the remainder under the plea that they were her Highness's executors, and entitled to carry her will into effect. The legal rights of the Wuzier were thus overridden, and, subsequent to this "adjustment" of the accounts of the Begum's property, the balances have been paid into the Company's treasury, and, up to the present time, no further accounts have been given in by the Company's officers; and although many persons who (as their right was interpreted by the Company) had a life-interest in the said property, are dead, and the annuities have consequently fallen in, the principal and interest are still lying in the Company's treasury, and the benefit of the same is appropriated by the Company itself. Applications have, however, been repeatedly made through every Resident for the restoration to its legitimate owner of the money so accumulated, but without success; in fact, without obtaining even a reply from the accomplished dacoits in their character of executors. Thus, if subsidies were precluded, successions were open, while in certain particulars, still to be mentioned, there were found to be other ways of mulcting a reluctant Wuzier, and of relieving him for any difficulty as to the investment of his superfluous assets. As was stated above, Saadat Allie had left a considerable balance in his treasury at his decease, and the Company, with that aptitude which they consistently displayed, in due course touched this balance under the denomination of a loan. The transaction reads very simply and quietly in the Blue Book:—"At a conference between the Earl of Moira (then Governor-General) and the Wuzier, on the 14th Oct. 1814, his highness offered one crore of rupees as a gift to the Company. It was refused as a gift, but accepted as a loan. The financial pressure, caused by the protracted prosecution of the Nepaul war, led the Governor-General to *ask* the Vizier for another loan of one crore, which was obtained," &c. Now, the official correspondence of the Government at the time shows that not a little negotiation and management were necessary, and not a little pressure was put upon the Wuzier to obtain this apparently facile acquiescence. On December 10, 1814 Mr. C. M. Ricketts, Secretary to Government, writes to Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, praising his "admirable skill in negotiation," and suggesting its employment in extracting the second crore of rupees which "you

mentioned, *I think*," the Nawaub would readily advance, "since his treasury was full." On January 2, 1815, the same to the same urges Colonel Baillie to "lose no time in commencing his negotiations with the Nawaub for a further supply of cash;" but Colonel Baillie's reply to this, on January the 10th, puts a very different aspect on this poetical transaction, and is suggestive of some omissions in the simple narrative of the Oude Blue Book. * * * * * "By the way, I have no recollection of the circumstance of His Excellency's former offer of a second crore of rupees. *It was certainly not made to me nor to his Lordship distinctly, in my presence.* The Nawaub made a general observation, in the true oriental style, that his Jan Mal (life and property) were at his Lordship's command, and an expression to the same effect was contained in one of the papers of requests which he recalled. You told me, I also remember, and so did Swinton and Adam, that at a conference from which I was absent, His Excellency had offered the first crore as a gift instead of a loan, and as much more as might be wanted; but His Excellency's written offer to me of a crore was expressed in by no means so liberal terms, and as the paper is still by me, I insert a translation of it here:—

" 'You mentioned yesterday the necessity of a supply of cash for the extraordinary charges of the Company. As far as a crore of rupees I shall certainly furnish by *way of loan*, but beyond that sum is impossible, and a voucher for this sum must be given,' " &c.

On the 18th February, however, Mr. Ricketts is still pressing Colonel Baillie, "as without another crore Government may experience the most serious embarrassment." On the 23rd we find from another letter of Mr. Ricketts' that the Wuzier is offering only an additional fifty lakhs instead of the required crore; and "in his letter he (the Wuzier) makes us apparently blow hot and cold in one breath, for *he says that we declined the offer of his troops because the urgency of the case did not require it, but that we solicit pecuniary aid because a necessity has occurred of raising troops*;" in fact, if we understand the Wuzier's difficulty, he conceived that we were reverting to the plan of subsidies under another denomination. Nevertheless, the second crore of rupees was obtained before long, whether by allurements or menaces, or by the spontaneous good-will of the Wuzier, it is vain now to

inquire; and the Governor-General expressed his high approbation of the ability and address with which Colonel Baillie had conducted the negotiation to this result. At the same time he was lavish in his thanks to the Nawaub for "this liberal aid," which evidenced his fidelity and faithfulness towards the British Government," and which fidelity and faithfulness were in the sequel thus rewarded. In the first place, for this second crore of rupees he was induced to accept, by treaty, in the following year, the district of Kyreeghur, which was of very little use to him. As Bishop Heber, in his Journal, vol. ii. p. 81, expresses himself upon this transaction—"The King lent the British Government all that would have enabled him to ease the people of their burdens. Of the two millions which his father had left, he lent one to Lord Hastings to carry on the Nepaul War. For this he was to receive interest, but unfortunately for him he accepted instead of all payment a grant of fresh territory under the Himalaya mountains, which is unproductive, being either a savage wilderness, or occupied by a race of mountaineers who pay no taxes without being compelled to do so and he had not the means of compelling them." And finally, though this district was conveyed to the Wuzier by a treaty dated in 1816, it was taken from his heirs by Lord Dalhousie, under *a proclamation based on the treaty of* 1801. Included in the common spoil of the King's dominions, though it had been purchased from his British allies out of his ancestor's savings, these same allies having long since spent the million sterling they received as its purchase money, now resume the land they *sold* in virtue of a treaty made fifteen years before the sale was effected. If they resume the land, they owe the Wuzier a million sterling; if they retain the million sterling, they are bound to relinquish the land. There is no escape from this dilemma, yet no sign of compunction attends the process of this supplementary or episodical robbery of the King of Oude. Where a kingdom is wrested from its rightful owner, it is thought, reasonably enough, that a million more or less is likely to escape the notice of the British public, and to remain undetected in the midst of the general confusion.

We set a mark upon this incident, however, and we now pass on. In default of subsidies, the system of loans was so convenient a form for applying the resources of Oude to the purposes of the Company, that it was pursued on various other occasions besides

those which have been already specified. In this very reign of Ghazee-ood-Deen, we hear again and again of crores and lakhs coaxed out of the royal coffers, and received with professions of eternal gratitude, and with the ecstasy of fervour which a shower of rupees inevitably excites in the otherwise arid bosom of a great Indian official. It is appropriate to give here some extracts from the despatches of Lord Amherst in evidence of these emotions, and of the pious prayers in consequence addressed to the Almighty under the unusual sanction of an official envelope. The exhibition will be doubtless new to English readers, and therefore it is commended to their most diligent attention. It will be observed that the following letters are addressed to the "KING of Oude," for in the 1819, in season of loans, with the approbation of the British Government, Ghazee-ood-Deen had assumed this title, and had been regally crowned; and now, as he royally relieves the wants of the Company, the following is the incense which he receives from his devoted debtors:—

TRANSLATION of a KHURREETA (letter to a Prince) from LORD AMHERST, Governor-General of India, to H. M. GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN HYDER, King of Oude, dated October 14th, 1825.

After the usual compliments,—

"It is now some time since I conveyed to your Majesty, through the Resident, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts, my cordial thanks for the instance you have given me of your friendship, by advancing, upon certain conditions, by way of loan, *the sum of one crore of rupees* (£1,000,000 sterling), in case of extreme emergency and need, the Burmese war having cost enormous sums of money.

"This your offer has proved of essential service, and at the same time manifests your unfeigned attachment, as well as the interest you take in the welfare of the British Government, from among all the allies of which, I have further to assure you, your Majesty has carried off *the golden ball of superiority*.

"*The ever-verdant and blooming garden of our* mutual *friendship has been refreshed and embellished*, while the benefits and fruits of our amity, which have existed from days of yore, are *impressed upon the heart of every Englishman*, both here and in Europe, as *indelibly* as if they had been *engraven upon adamant; nor will lapse of time or change of circumstances efface from the memory of the British nation so*

irrefragable a proof, so irresistible an argument, of the fraternal sentiments of your Majesty.

"I have also to express my entire approbation of the conduct and fullest satisfaction with the efficiency of your Prime Minister, illustrious son and sincere friend, Nawaub Matmood Dowla Mooktear-ool Moolk, lion in the battlefield, commander-in-chief, pillar of the state, for ever devoted to the King of the World, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, Padshah of Oude, and who has exerted himself most efficiently in this matter, gaining thereby my unqualified commendations.

"Now, as the welcome intelligence of a friend's success and prosperity imparts happiness to every other member of *the vast circle of amicableness and brotherly union*, therefore I, your sincere and steadfast friend, take this opportunity of informing you, and of thereby adding to your pleasure, that lately, by the arrival of news from Burmah, I have been informed that marks of deep repentance and shame are stamped upon the brows of that malignant race, who, finding themselves unable to resist our all-powerful and victorious arms, have at last resolved, with all their heart and soul, to tender the humblest and sincerest apologies, and to consent to accept of peace upon such conditions as are most satisfactory to us.

"They have been compelled to come to this determination, their foolish hearts being, at length, convinced that they cannot confront our triumphant army, from whose valour there is no escape, and which chases its enemy before it as a lion does the roe of the wilderness.

"They are now fully sensible that a more protracted resistance would but entail on them misfortune and ruin.

"Upon the final and satisfactory conclusion of peace I shall do myself the pleasure of duly notifying that auspicious event to your Majesty.

"I beg your Majesty will consider me as always anxious to have information respecting your health and welfare, and desirous that you should write to me from time to time.

"I conclude, *with fervent prayers* for your prosperity and the continuance of your dignity and grandeur.

(Signed) AMHERST."

TRANSLATION of LORD AMHERST'S LETTER, 23rd June, 1826, to H. M. GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN HYDER.

"On hearing that your Majesty, who imparts lustre to the throne and dignity to the State, has with the greatest courtesy and kindness lent to the Honourable Company *the sum of fifty lakhs of rupees, Lucknow coin*, which the officers of your Majesty's Government have *duly delivered into the treasury of the Lucknow Residency*, I was greatly *delighted and obliged beyond expression*, and herewith express my grateful thanks for the same. *May God Almighty keep your Majesty* (THE MINE OF MUNIFICENCE) *under his eternal protection*! Your Majesty's friendship and fidelity to the British Government have been over and over evinced. Certainly the offering of such liberal aid and help, which the Honourable Company have often and frequently obtained from your Majesty, completely demonstrates the sincerity of your feelings, and *has refreshed the garden of friendship and fidelity, and bound this Government under unspeakable obligations.*

"And to express my delight and satisfaction, I have intimated to that most eminent and highly dignified officer and our representative, Mr. M. Ricketts, to wait upon your Majesty, and acknowledge on my part this new and generous aid.

"I hope your Majesty will always consider that I am *desirous and anxious for accounts of your health and welfare;* and I trust you will rejoice and honour me by your kind and gracious letters."

TRANSLATION of a KHURREETA from LORD AMHERST, Governor-General of India, to H. M. GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN, Padsha of Oude, dated 23rd of June, 1826.

After the usual compliments,—

"I, your sincere well-wisher, having learnt that your Majesty, the ornament of the throne of splendour and exalted dignity, has, out of your great attachment and friendship, lent *the sum of fifty lakhs of Lucknow coin* (5,000,000 rupees=£500,000 sterling) to the Honourable East India Company, and that your Majesty's servants have accordingly *conveyed and deposited the same in perfect safety and security in the Residency treasury*, beg to assure your Majesty of my deep obligation, and to acknowledge that I owe your Majesty *a debt of heartfelt thanks and boundless gratitude.*

"In acknowledgment of this great favour, I have only the power of saying that MY PRAYER IS *that Almighty God may long*

preserve our mutual alliance, and maintain your Majesty on the throne of your hereditary kingdom.

"I, your sincere well-wisher, have directed our trustworthy Resident, of exalted dignity, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts, to convey to your Majesty my many, many cordial thanks, and to express at the same time, the overflowings of my truly grateful heart to your Majesty, whom I pray still to continue to delight me very often with your esteemed correspondence. Wishing your Majesty *innumerable days of felicity and never-ceasing prosperity*,—I am,

(Signed) AMHERST."*

Such was the style in which the Indian Government approached its victim, while its policy was to flatter. The "*Mine of Munificence*" was thus worked with cautious approaches, and pious ejaculations, and every fresh shaft was opened with official prayer. When the "Mine" was impoverished the process was different, as we learn from the Proclamation of Lord Dalhousie; but the result was in either case nearly the same; whether its gold was obtained by easy cradling or by violent crushing, it invariably went to the same consignees. What has become of these loans, both principal and interest, may be a fitting subject for inquiry hereafter. At all events they were created by the economies of a State whose income was in excess of its expenditure, at the time when it was protected from meddling on the part of the Residents. Thus Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, of whose address we have already heard, having given offence to the Nawaub of Oude by undue interference in the internal affairs of his government, was removed in consequence by Lord Moira in 1815;† and of a similar tendency for many years was the policy of the Indian Government. In the meantime the devoted province had rest, and out of its fertile lands and liberal resources our Indian Government was sustained at periods of emergency. The Indian Government was of course destined to benefit in any event; but so long as it treated Oude liberally, this treatment thus resulted in arrangements to their joint advantage.

It may be doubtful whether the Indian Government had at

*This letter and the preceding one refer to two distinct loans advanced by Ghazee-ood-Deen to the East India Company.

†Governor-General's Minutes, 31st October, 1815. Oude Papers, p. 963.

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any time lost sight of the intention avowed by Lord Wellesley to appropriate Oude entirely. And it may be doubted for the very reason that from the date of its avowal representations were spread abroad from time to time that Oude was misgoverned, that its people were oppressed, that its revenues and institutions were falling into decay. Such representations were rife in the very reign of Ghazee-ood-Deen, which we are now considering, but they were certainly not insisted on in 1818, as we learn by the following abstract of a letter from Lord Moira, then Marquis of Hastings, to that Nawaub. On the 1st of April (*absit omen!*) the Marquis expresses his cordial thanks for the hospitality and marked attention received by him when on his way from Lucknow to Goruckpore, and also for the abundant and excellent supplies furnished to his camp by His Excellency's officers during his Lordship's progress through His Excellency's dominions. *The Marquis also assures the Nawaub of his unqualified approbation and satisfaction at witnessing the high state of cultivation in which he found the country, as well as at its increased populousness, and at the happiness and comfort of all His Excellency's subjects.*

Still the reports to the contrary continued. Notwithstanding the evidence furnished by the personal inspection of Lord Hastings; notwithstanding the more tangible evidence which reached the Company in the shape of solid rupees obtained by loan or otherwise, slanderous reports of the ruin of Oude were put in circulation, as it may be fairly conjectured, with the same object which they have since been employed to promote, the seizure of the country by the Company when circumstances favoured its annexation. It happened, however, that during the reign of Ghazee-ood-Deen an impartial and an unimpeachable witness visited his territories. Bishop Heber included them in his Indian Tour of 1824-5; and on that occasion he came to the conclusion which we have stated on the reverse of our title-page, that the numerous population and the industry which he witnessed were irreconcilable with the reports he had generally heard of the misgovernment of the country. His chapters upon Oude, which the reader is invited to turn to, show in other respects the struggle of an honest mind between the evidence which was forced upon him by his own observations and that which he had heard apparently on trustworthy

authority. "We had heard much," says he, "of the misgoverned and desolate state of the kingdom of Oude," its peasants, it is true, being a martial race, were all armed, but "we found them peaceable and courteous;" in the village, "the shops were neat, and the appearance of the people comfortable and thriving;" some of the King's elephants were scantily kept by roguish commissaries, but "I was pleased, however, and surprised after all which I had heard of Oude, to find the country *so completely* under the plough," etc. Lucknow reminded the traveller of Dresden, and one of its streets of the High-street of Oxford. Notwithstanding the cautions he received against moving freely among its armed population, "we found invariable civility and good nature, people backing their carts and elephants to make room for us, and displaying on the whole a far greater spirit of hospitality and accommodation than two foreigners would have met with in *London*." The King somewhat impressed him, and suggested a comparison with our James the First. "He was fond, as I have observed, of study, and in all points of Oriental philology and philosophy, is really reckoned a learned man, besides having a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry." But these, as Heber remarks, tended rather to divert his mind from the duties of his station; yet "no single act of violence or oppression has ever been ascribed to him, or supposed to have been perpetrated with his knowledge."* * * * "He urges that 'all his difficulties have arisen from his entire confidence in the friendship of the Company. That they induced him and his ancestors to disband an excellent army, till they scarce left sentries enough for the palace; and thus they have become unable, without help, to enforce payment of their ancient revenues. That this induced him to lend to the British Government all the money which would have else enabled him to ease the people of their burthens, and to meet without inconvenience whatever loss of income a new assessment may, for some time, render inevitable. That he never has refused, and never will refuse, to give the best consideration in his power to any measures of reform which may be, in a friendly manner, proposed to him; but he refers those who represent him as a tyrant, or who speak of his country as depopulated, to every traveller who has marched along its principal roads, and has observed the extent of cultivation through which they are

carried.' " * * * * "I can bear witness certainly to the truth of the King's statements, that his territories are really in a far better state of cultivation than I had expected to find them. From Lucknow to Sandee, where I am now writing, the country is as populous and well cultivated as most of the Company's provinces. The truth perhaps is, that for more than a year back, *since the aid of British troops has been withheld*, affairs have been in some respects growing better." * * * * "I cannot but suspect, therefore, that the misfortunes and anarchy of Oude are somewhat overrated," etc. * * * * * "I asked also if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English government? Captain Lockitt said that he had heard the same thing; but on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindoostanee enables him to do, familiarly with the suwarrs who accompanied him, and who spoke out, like all the rest of their countrymen, on the weakness of the King and the wickedness of the Government, he fairly put the question to them, when the Jemautdar, joining his hands, said with great fervency, 'Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!' "

Such are the statements, coupled with accounts of disorders in the collection of revenues, and of the mischief resulting from the interference of Residents, which the reader will find in the work of Reginald Heber. He is invited to turn to it as an authentic record of the results of Ghazee-ood-Deen's sovereignty, for Heber was in Oude in 1824-5, and in 1827 Ghazee-ood-Deen died, and paid the debt of nature, in addition to his other payments, as the Company's productive "Mine of Munificence."

Chapter V

SHOWING HOW THE COMPANY CONSENTED TO RECEIVE A LOAN FROM NUSSEER-OOD-DEEN, WITH OTHER ADVANTAGES; ALSO, BY WHAT MEANS AND WITH WHAT OBJECTS THEY EXTRACTED THE TREATY OF 1837 FROM HIS SUCCESSOR.

GHAZEE-OOD-DEEN was succeeded by his son Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder, who, also, was worked in the capacity of a Mine of Munificence, for which his benevolent nature afforded various facilities. Two years after his accession, as we learn from the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties," that is, "in 1829, Government *consented* to receive as a "special loan the sum of 62,40,000 rupees," the interest of which was to form a provision for certain members of His Majesty's family, and in case of their death without heirs to revert to His Majesty himself. The Government obligingly *consented* to receive this sum as a loan; such is the statement which is made to Parliament and the public, but neither Parliament nor the public are informed at the same time that Government never consented to repay it. Nor did they pay the lapsed pensions to His Majesty according to the fifth article of the treaty,* which was made in

* That there may be no doubt as to the effect of this treaty, dated March 1st, 1829, the following is an abstract of its principal articles:—

Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Oude has paid, and the Governor-General in Council, on the part of the East India Company, has received in loan, the sum of Lucknow Sicca rupees, sixty-two lakhs and forty thousand.

Art. 2. On the said principal sum, interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, in quarterly payments, according to the English months, shall be paid from the treasury of the Resident.

Art. 3. The total of the yearly interest is three hundred and twelve thousand rupees. This shall be paid in pension, in four equal instalments, and in the proportions specified, to the following persons during life.

[Here follow the names and portions].

Art. 4. When any of the above pensioners die, leaving an heir or heirs, at its election the English Government may continue, as before, the pension

this behalf. Although repeated applications were made for it, not one farthing ever found its way into the royal treasury. No reply was ever vouchsafed to these repeated applications, except upon one occasion, when an answer was received from Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated the 10th April, 1834, stating that he had instructed Major John Low, the Resident, who would give full information on the subject to His Majesty. But Major Low gave no information; still less did the Company give back any rupees. They consented, in short, to retain as a gift, the moneys they had consented to receive as a loan, and in either case their consent was given as easily as the consent of a Robson or a Redpath to a similar series of transactions. On such terms, no doubt, it would not have been difficult to procure their consent to an infinite number of such *loans*, but Nusseer-ood-Deen showed no disposition to avail himself of his opportunities, and for the rest of his reign contented himself with the credit of a free-giver, instead of forcing his loans upon gentlemen who simply consented to receive them.

Nusseer-ood-Deen was, as we stated, a very benevolent Prince, and accordingly on the 12th December, 1833, overlooking the loan which still remained unpaid, but "seeing," as the Preamble of his Agreement runs, "that deeds of charity and mercy are by the King of kings, the great Creator of all things, commanded to be done of all men, and that particularly from Kings and Governors who are distinguished among men, and entrusted by Providence with wealth and riches, and with ample means whereby to provide for the protection, necessities, and comforts of God's people, does an all-seeing Providence look for deeds of benevolence and charity. * * * His Majesty the King of Oude, remembering the commands of the King of kings to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to comfort the afflicted, does, of the treasures which Providence has bestowed on him, most freely, and with unfeigned pleasure determine to endow a charity." To this end he places in the Residency treasury the sum of three lakhs of rupees to be lodged in the four per cent. loan of the British Government, in order that the interest

to the heirs of the deceased, or make over to them the principal sum proportionate to the pension in question, according to the rate before mentioned.

Art. 5. *Should any of the pensioners, or succeeding her, her issue, die before His Majesty, without heirs, in such case the lapsed pension will revert to His Majesty.*

of 12,000 rupees, or 1,000 rupees per month, might, under the superintendence of the Residents or their representatives, be distributed to the lame, the maimed, the blind, the helpless aged, the lepers, and those who are destitute, and he further agrees that "it shall not be optional with the future Rulers of Oude, or with any power whatever, to resume this money, or to appropriate it to any other purpose; on the contrary, it is placed under the guarantee of the British Government, for the express end that it may for ever remain to be distributed to the poor, in the name of his present Majesty, and its denomination shall be the charity of 'Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder, King of Oude.'" The charity of Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder, was not, however, confined to this particular endowment During his short reign he granted a monthly allowance of 3,000 rupees to the students of Lucknow College; he established hospitals for dispensing medicines and food to the sick poor; and he prohibited, by royal proclamation, the buying and selling of human beings, a practice which, though it had substantially ceased in Oude, still obtained in several parts of Hindostan. He made, moreover, such zealous efforts to suppress and exterminate Thugs and Dacoits, and to provide for the protection and security of his subjects, that his reputation on this account was known throughout India. Yet the trumpery imputations on this amiable Prince contained in that semi-ficititious narrative of "The Private Life of an Eastern King," published in London two or three years ago, are the only particulars concerning him which his astute enemies have encouraged their ingenious libellers to communicate to the British people.

This easy and benevolent Prince, whose very virtues as well as his failings have been made weapons to wound his memory, died in 1837; and on his decease another of those scandalous transactions occurred which are usually coincident with the accession of any Prince to the protection of the East India Company. The treaty of 1837, on which so much turns, was thus obtained, and the manner in which it was procured is now to be accounted for. This treaty contains the recital, towards the close of the preamble, given in full below,* that "the infraction of the sixth

*"Whereas by the subsisting alliance between the Honourable the East India Company and the Oude States, the British Government is bound to defend the Oude territories against foreign and domestic enemies, the sovereign

article of the treaty of 1801, and inattention to the first duty of a sovereign on the part of several successive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious, and have even exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations towards the Oude people." It proceeds accordingly to supersede the engagement in the above-mentioned article by an agreement which "is to hold good from generation to generation, to the end of time;" but before an account is given of the terms of this agreement, and of the manner in which these terms have been subsequently infringed by the British Government, which is represented in the same preamble as so "faithfully and scrupulously" performing its obligations, it is necessary to mention certain circumstances which will sufficiently account for the insertion of the above-mentioned recital, which appears thus to

of Oude engaging to retain in his service only a small specified number of troops; and whereas, while the British Government has faithfully and scrupulously performed the obligations so imposed on it, the engagement on the part of the Oude State has been habitually infringed, there being now in the employment of His Majesty, the King of Oude, a large and expensive military force; and whereas, experience has shown that the execution of all the provisions of the treaty of 1801 is attended with serious difficulty, and it is desirable and proper that a modified arrangement, consistent with the principles of that treaty, and conducing to the prosperity and advantage of both States, should be introduced; and whereas, the restrictions as to the amount of military force to be employed by His Majesty the King of Oude may with propriety be relaxed, on condition that an adequate portion of the increased force shall be placed under British discipline and control, so as at once to promote the general interests of the Indian Empire, and in particular the dignity and safety of the King, providing at a reduced cost for the efficiency of his national military establishment: and *whereas*, article 6th of the treaty of 1801 requires that the sovereign of Oude always advising with, and acting in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation; and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty, and inattention to the first duty of a sovereign on the part of several successive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious and have ever exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations towards the Oude people, and it is therefore just and proper that the defect alluded to in article 6th of the treaty aforesaid, should be rectified; the following provisions have accordingly been arranged and concluded on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, Resident at the Court of Lucknow, in the name and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other, by Abool Futteh Moeen-ood-Deen Sultani Zaman Nowsherewan-i-Audil, Mohummud Alli Shah, King of Oude, for himself and his heirs; and this agreement is to hold good from generation to generation, to the end of time."

compromise the Oude rulers and the character of their government.

Thus it appears that the death of Nusseer-ood-Deen was sudden, but he had long been ailing; and momentous as this event proved, no preparation had been made for it in the councils of the Governor-General. Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, then the Resident at the Court of Lucknow, had neglected to take such precautionary measures as the state of the succession required, for Nusseer-ood-Deen had at one time acknowledged as his sons two youths, whom he had since repudiated, and the Queen Mother had espoused the claims of one of these young men on the decease of Nusseer-ood-Deen, whereas the British authorities had determined to set them aside, and to support the late King's uncle, Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, otherwise Mohummad Allie Shah. The absence of all preparations to meet this anticipated crisis, was the cause of an emeute, and of the tragedy which followed, and of which an account is thus given in a letter, dated Lucknow, July 1, 1837, and which appeared in the "Asiatic Journal" of the same year:—

"This morning, a tragic scene occurred here, on account of the death of the King, in consequence of his son forcibly taking the sovereignty of the kingdom, in opposition to the sanction of the British Government, who selected an uncle of the late King instead of his son. The British troops were ordered down from cantonments to the palace, and the Resident allowed the Queen Dowager and the young Prince five minutes to leave the throne, where they were seated, and in the event of not complying, threatened to raze the palace to the ground. They did not pay any respect to this instruction, upon which Colonel Low gave orders for the artillery to open a destructive fire on the palace and the people. The loss of life on the occasion was lamentable, that is, on the part of the young Prince and Queen Dowager; that on the Company trifling, two sepoys killed and eight wounded. The struggle ended in confining the Prince and the Queen, and seating upon the throne the King's uncle. I was present all the time, and the plunder made by the Company's sepoys was immense; the throne was entirely stripped of its valuable gems."

It is here stated that the loss of life on the part of the Com-

pany's troop was but trifling. On the other hand, the Resident represented that of his opponents to have been between thirty and forty, but it is averred by M. M. Musseehood-deen, as within his own cognisance, that if a proper inquiry had been instituted by the Government, it would be found that the numbers who fell in opposing the Company's troops, would be found to be not less than 500. It may be questioned who was responsible for this sanguinary issue; but there can be no question, after reading the events which followed, by what means the compromising and obnoxious recital was introduced into the treaty of 1837, which was obtained as the crowning result of this struggle, or rather of this sanguinary but one-sided slaughter.

In the "Oude Papers," printed in 1838 by order of the House of Commons, will be found a "Memorandum of the events which took place on the night of the 7th, and morning of the 8th of July, 1837, at the Palace of His Majesty the King of Oude." It is dated July 10, and signed J. Low, Resident.

After giving an account of the death of Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder on the night of the 7th of July, the writer proceeds to state—

"The Resident, with Doctor Stevenson, after inspecting the body of his late Majesty, and issuing some necessary orders, returned to the Residency, leaving Captain Patton at the palace to superintend the sealing up of the royal property; * * * *The Resident next had a short Persian paper written out, to which* he proposed to require Nusseer-ood-Dowlah's consent and signature previous to inviting him to the palace.

"All this took some time, and it must have been about 1 a.m. of the 8th instant, when the Resident directed his second assistant, Lieutenant Shakespear, to proceed along with the Residency Meer Moonshee Iltifaut Hoosain Khan, Bahadoor, and Moulvee Ghoolam Yahea Khan, the durbar vakeel, to the house of Nawaub Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, taking with him the Persian agreement above mentioned; these three persons accordingly proceeded to the said place of residence, and after some delay, which was caused by the visit being sudden and unexpected on the part of the Nawaub, they obtained an audience. Lieutenant Shakespear presented and caused to be read to the Nawaub the Persian agreement, to which his signature was requested: the

Nawaub *willingly, and without any hesitation,** when it was read over to him, affixed his seal thereto, and expressed his perfect acquiescence to the terms therein mentioned."

The Deed of Engagement so presented and so signed was as follows:—

TRANSLATION of a DEED OF ENGAGEMENT executed by NAWAUB NUSSEER-OOD-DOWLAH, on the night of the 7th July, 1837.

"Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, the Resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespear, his second assistant, of the death of Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder, King of Oude. The Resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India respecting the necessity of new engagements on the (*part of the* ?) Company's Government with the Oude State; *and I hereby declare, that in the case of my being placed on the throne,* I WILL AGREE TO SIGN ANY NEW TREATY THAT THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL MAY DICTATE.

(True Translation)
(Signed) J. Low, Resident."

N.B.—At the foot of the Persian paper, the present King wrote the words "Cubool wo Munzoor ust" (It is accepted and agreed upon), and affixed the impression of his seal.

The engagement recited above, with the circumstances under which it was obtained, will doubtless be thought a sufficient answer to the preamble of the treaty of 1837, as far as the latter testifies to the misgovernment of the Oude Princes. It is to be added, that Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, recoiled from this bold adaption of an act of duress. In his recorded minute on this

*This averment, however, is contradicted by the author of "How to Make and how to Break a Treaty," who says, "When this treaty was first proposed by the Resident, then Colonel Low, to His Majesty, the King wrote a letter, in which he stated that although personally willing to make every sacrifice for the E. I. Company he could not sign this treaty because he felt he was signing away the kingdom from his children. That the terms systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule, etc., were so general that they would be difficult to define. To this, Colonel Low replied that such things were not likely to happen in His Majesty's reign. The documents will be produced in due course, and show the repugnance of the poor King and the persuasion of the Resident. The King knew the Treaty of 1801 did not give power to the E. I. Government of interference quite as well as the Resident, and dreaded the result of the new Treaty of 1837."

occasion, while approving the promptitude and decision generally evinced by the Resident throughout this affair, he has expressed doubts as to the propriety of thus summarily requiring the engagement in question. The following passage is from his Lordship's minute, dated 11th July, 1837:

"I would not, without further consideration, and on the very brief notices which we at present possess, venture to express any final opinion on the important events which have taken place at Lucknow; but I am prepared at once to approve and sanction the general policy which Colonel Low has followed in admitting the claims of Nusseer-ood-Dowlah to the throne of Oude....For any criticism in detail on the measures adopted by Colonel Low, we must wait for further accounts; but I may now say, that I *should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not in this moment of exigency accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new King has signed.* This document may be liable to misconstruction, and *it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low.* The views of his Government, as but recently expressed to that officer, are defined and moderate, and from this circumstance, as well as from the new King's character and position, there could in any case have been little doubt of his willingness to adapt his conduct to those views."

At all events, the treaty of 1837 was thus obtained, signed, and ratified. In virtue of the intention stated in its preamble, the treaty of 1801 was in part superseded; and though that of 1837 was founded on what we have shown to be inconclusive, if not false, recitals, it became to all intents and purposes so binding on all the parties, so conclusive in its settlement of their future relations, that we must now give an abstract of its principal provisions.

Its first article cancels the third article of the treaty of 1801, and His Majesty the King of Oude may now employ such a military establishment as he may deem necessary for the government of his dominions. His Majesty engages, however, to make a suitable reduction of his establishment when it may appear to a British Government, from its pressure upon the finances of the country or other causes, to be obviously excessive.

By the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, the Company show the scope of the relaxation above mentioned, by casting on the King the obligation to maintain a certain force at

his own cost, practically to their liberation from their engagement, which they still, however, nominally recognize, to defend the Oude State against all foreign and domestic enemies.* By article 2 the King is to organize an *augmented* military establishment; by article 3 this establishment is specified; by article 4 its cost *shall not exceed 16 lakhs* per annum,—our old friend *the subsidy* thus making its appearance again in a disguise so slight that we at once identify the culprit; by article 5 the King is to employ with this force an adequate number of British officers; and by article 6, both Governments are to concur in the employment of this force, but *it is to be clearly understood* that it is not to be employed in the ordinary collection of revenue, that is to say, it is not to be used for the King of Oude's purposes; for it is in reality a British army, subsidized and maintained, as formerly, at the King of Oude's expense. Such are the provisions based on the first half of the preamble, to accomplish the object there so ambiguously stated, of "providing at a reduced cost for the efficiency of his national military establishment;" in other words, such is the reduced cost *to the Company*, and such is the commencement of the fresh exac-

*The author of a pamphlet, entitled "Oudh; or, How to Make and how to Break a Treaty," thus reasons on this obligation, and the extent to which it bound the Company:—"Articles two, three, four, five, and six have all more or less reference to certain forces which the King was to raise and maintain at a cost of sixteen (16) lakhs per annum. It never seems to have entered into the recollection of the E. I. Government's Officers, that His Majesty after the cessation of the subsidy of 76 lakhs per annum, had given up Gora and Allahabad with a net revenue of one crore and thirty-five lakhs, to meet the expenses of the 10,000 troops of all arms, which the kind hearted E. I. Government had agreed to maintain for the safety of the Oudh territories. What had become of this force? The amount and terms had been laid down in article seven of 1798, 'that if diminished the subsidy should be lessened,' and when the territorial cession of Allahabad and Gora, instead of the subsidy of 76 lakhs, was made in 1801, there was no mention in any article of this treaty that the force should be withdrawn; on the contrary, article nine of the treaty of 1801, confirms all the articles of former treaties not annulled by this treaty, and especially refers to the treaty of 1798, and article nine of the treaty of 1837 is to the same effect. How is it, then, that the force of 10,000 men have not been kept up in Oudh up to the present date? How is it that Lord Dalhousie's claims for the E. I. Company in his Proclamation that the obligations which the treaty of 1801 imposed upon the Hon'ble E. I. Company, have been observed by it for more than half a century 'faithfully,' 'constantly,' and 'completely?' How have they been observed completely? By the terms of article seven of 1798, which have, as we have shown, been maintained throughout, and never annulled, the instant a diminution of the fixed number of the force took place, an "adequate diminution should have been made in the payment to the E. I. Company, and certain and adequate portions of the districts given in lieu of the subsidy should have been returned to the Oudh Government. This was not done; therefore all the terms of the treaties were not observed by the E. I. Company."

tions from the King. But this part of the treaty, which provides directly and undisguisedly for the appropriation of sixteen lakhs of the royal revenue, is of subordinate importance, for it was afterwards disallowed, as the "Parliamentary Return of Treaties" correctly states. More important articles, inasmuch as they remained operative, are those which are based on the second half of the preamble, and which go to supplement the deficiencies of the treaty of 1801.

Thus, the treaty of 1801 required that the Sovereign of Oude should advise and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company; but as it provided no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation, the articles yet to be mentioned gave a right of temporary entry into the King's dominions, and of superseding his authority until the time that the stream of rupees should flow again in the old direction. The right of entry under these articles was unwelcome to Lord Dalhousie, because it was *temporary* only; and accordingly a pretext was found for stronger measures, on the plea, which shall be considered hereafter, that these articles had been set aside; but so far from this, they were ratified and acted on; and continued reference, as we shall hereafter see, was made to them as existing and binding, by the Company's servants no less than by the Oude Princes. They are not only, therefore, the most important documents in this case, but they are simply conclusive as to its merits, and, accordingly, they are here given at length:—

"Article 7.—In modification of article 6th of the treaty above referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police and in the judicial and revenue administrations of his dominions, and that if His Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government or its local representative, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oudh dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oudh territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary;

the surplus receipts in such a case, after defraying all charges, *to be paid into the King's treasury*, and true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipt and expenditure of the territories so assumed.

"Article 8.—And it is hereby further agreed, that in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by article 7th of this treaty, he will endeavour as far as possible to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate *the restoration of those territories to the Sovereign of Oudh when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.*

"Article 9.—All the other provisions and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oudh State, which are not affected by the above convention, are to remain in full force and effect.

"The above treaty, consisting of 9 articles, is executed at Lucknow this 11th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1837, corresponding with the 10th day of Jamadossanee, 1253, Hegira.

(Signed) AUCKLAND
" A. ROSS
" W. MORISON
" A. SHAKESPEAR

Square Persian Seal of the Gov.-Genl.

"Ratified by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, this 18th day of September, 1837.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN.
Secretary to Government of India."

It is now obvious on the very face of the seventh and eighth articles why Lord Dalhousie and the Company should wish to repudiate them. As respects revenues, *the surplus*, and as respects the term of occupation, *the remainder*, were to return to the King when the Company had accomplished their purposes. Their purposes at this day amount to a desire of absorption and annexation, which would leave neither surplus nor remainder to any who come after them. But at that date they were more deferential to

public opinion at home, and accordingly, as the Parliamentary Return mentions, "the Home Government disapproved of that part of the above treaty which imposed on the Oudh State the expense of the auxiliary force, and on the 8th July, 1839, the King was informed that he was relieved from the cost of maintaining the auxiliary force, which the British Government had taken upon itself." Moreover, the letter of Lord Auckland, which conveyed intimation of this to the King, contained the most high-flown praises of his administrative improvements, and ran in other respects approvingly, as follows:—

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from LORD AUCKLAND, Governor-General of India, to H. M. MOHUMMU'D ALLIE SHAH, King of Oude, dated Simla, July 8th, 1839.

After the usual compliments,—

"May the Omnipotent of everlasting dignity continue to preserve ever fresh and verdant, by the showers of his grace and mercy, the garden of the wealth and prosperity of your Majesty, the ornament of the throne of grandeur and exaltation. Let it not remain beneath the veil of secrecy and concealment, or be hidden from the light-reflecting mirror of your mind, that lately much discussion has been carried on between the Court of Directors, of exalted dignity, and myself, by means of a written correspondence touching the recent treaty of the 11th of September, 1837. Now, taking into consideration that the expense entailed by the auxiliary force, viz., sixteen lakhs (£160,000 sterling) per annum, might be the cause of interrupting the administration and amelioration of your kingdom, the said expense became the subject of their grave deliberations. From the period you ascended the throne, your Majesty has, in comparison with times past, *greatly improved the kingdom*, and I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that 'if I think it advisable for the present, I may' relieve your Majesty *from part of the clause* of the treaty alluded to, *by which clause* expense is laid upon your Majesty.

"Hoping that your Majesty may continue to rule your country *as you have hitherto done*, with justice, equity, and anxiety for the welfare of your subjects,

I am, &c.,

(Signed) AUCKLAND."

A curious circumstance is connected with this letter, and, though episodical, it is an illustration of that conduct and policy of our Indian Government towards the Oude Princes. The words above comprised within inverted commas bear a different sense in the English copy, in which they run thus:—"I am *directed* to relieve you," &c. On the discovery of this mistranslation, the King of Oude caused the letter to be returned, as not importing that the injunction to relieve him was absolute and imperative. But the Governor-General, on the other hand, forthwith issued an order, directing that the old custom of sending the original English letter, as well as the Persian translation of it, to His Majesty, a custom which had been in use since the time of Lord Bentinck, should be discontinued, and that the Persian version alone should be forwarded to His Majesty, as well as to all other Indian Princes. Thus, in future, our Governors-General might translate their orders as they pleased, and the Oude case is a leading case for the confusion of moods and tenses. We have read in English literature of a gentleman who

"flings
"The rules of grammar at the heads of Kings;"

but it appears that our position in India requires similar weapons, if our supremacy there can only be maintained by a corresponding supremacy over the rules of English syntax.

As a matter of fact, however, His Majesty of Oude was relieved from the operation of that clause of the treaty "by which clause expense was laid upon His Majesty." The rest of the treaty hung over him in his royal palace like the sword of Damocles, ready to curtail his authority if he made the slightest slip. Notwithstanding his advanced age and many infirmities, he, however, greatly improved the state of his kingdom, ameliorated the condition of the agriculturist, introduced reforms in the police, revenue, judicial, and finance departments, encouraged commerce, erected several public works of great utility, such as schools, colleges, serais or resting places for travellers, dug tanks, wells, &c., and filled the coffers of his treasury. Colonel Low, the then Resident at Lucknow, reposed so much confidence in His Majesty's wisdom and other statesmanlike qualities, that he told him, more than once, that it was not necessary for His Majesty to consult him upon every point, possessing, as His Majesty did,

so much information, judgement, and knowledge of business. At a most critical period, moreover, His Majesty testified his fidelity and attachment to the British Government, as will appear from the following speech of the Earl of Ellenborough, in the House of Lords, on the 10th of April, 1856. Lord Ellenborough said—

"It was evident that the correspondence between the Court of Directors and Lord Auckland, while that noble Lord was Governor-General of India, and also the despatch in which the noble Viscount, the Commander-in-Chief, informed the Home Government what occurred at the interview between himself and the King of Oude, must be laid upon the table.

"The Earl of Ellenborough also requested the noble Duke (of Argyll) to inquire whether there existed any records of the pecuniary transactions with the King of Oude, in which he (Lord Ellenborough) was concerned. At the time that he was greatly in want of money to bring back the British troops from Afghanistan, he applied to the King of Oude, and other native Princes, for loans. From the King he obtained a sum of, he thought, £100,000, and although all the other Princes were repaid, he did not know whether this debt was discharged."

In the year 1838 His Majesty also advanced, 1,700,000 rupees to the Company on their promissory notes, bearing interest at four per cent. per annum; and on the 7th of May, 1842, he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Soorye-a-Jah Amjud Allie Shah.

The story of the latter is singularly uneventful and exempt from trials by treaty or otherwise. This Prince, whose natural and acquired talents were, as is stated by M. M. Musseehood-deen, of a high order, applied himself assiduously to the management and administration of his dominions. Like his ancestors, he did all in his power to conciliate and secure the friendship and support of the British Government. Thus, when the Punjaub war broke out, His Majesty manifested his steadfast adherence and fidelity as an ally by assisting the Company with pecuniary advances, and by placing at their disposal a considerable number of well-armed and disciplined troops, both horse and foot.* At

*The following is the language of the author of "How to Make and how to Break a Treaty":—"It was during the Residency of Mr. I. R. Davidson that the first Punjab campaign was raging. All India was looking in terror at the

the request of the European inhabitants of Lucknow, he presented them with a piece of ground for the erection of a church for public worship, and supplied them with the greater part of the materials. During his reign, also, the requisition of the British Government for an Oude Frontier Police Force, to be under the direction of the Resident, under the command of the officer in the Thuggee Dacoitee Office, and officered by persons of his selection, was promptly met; and this force, consisting of four companies of infantry, and two troops of some fifty cavalry each, has been from that time maintained by the Oude Government. In organizing this force, the Oude Government raised no difficulties about the employment of British officers, nor urged that such was contrary to the treaty of 1801—a difficulty which Lord Dalhousie subsequently brought forward as a reason for dispensing with this and all other treaties. On the contrary, the Oude Government then, as always, complied with the requests of its allies, and did everything that could be reasonably expected to promote their objects. On the 13th of February, 1847, however, Amjud Allie Shah, who, it is said, while he lived, "had by his amiable character and superior endowments won for himself the golden opinions, not only of his own subjects and of Indians in general, but also of the English," departed this life, and was succeeded by his present Majesty Mohummud Wajid Allie Shah Padshah. With this Prince we approach the issues of our own time, and prepare for the final scenes of this history.

fierce and uncertain contest. The enemies of the East India Government did not hesitate to scheme and make proposals for the overthrow of their government. Dinapore and Benares were rife with intrigue. Whispered messages to Nepaul were daily increasing the uncertain position of the East India Company. The government paper, that certain criterion of the state of public feeling, was at the lowest point ever known. There was then everything to induce the Oudh Government to assert their independence, or at any rate give themselves airs. One move in that direction, and the East India rule would have been thrown back one hundred years; and who shall say to what extent the loss might not have extended? But no; Oudh was firm. In the East India Government's peril was clearly seen Oudh's constancy. Her men cheerfully given from her own army for the Company. Her horses at the service of the Irregular Corps, then being raised in hot haste, and her minister directed to tender every and any aid that the East India Company might require.[a] These are not wild, enthusiastic flatteries. These are the accounts of well-known realities. If Lord Hardinge has but an iota of the magnanimity for which we give him credit, he will not fail to bear witness to the gallant conduct of Oudh on this occasion, and we look to him for it." The author was not aware, when he made this appeal, how impossible it was that his appeal could be answered.

[a] "The Minister Newab Ameenood Dowlah received a letter of thanks on this occasion.

Chapter VI

SHOWING, AS FAR AS IN SUCH COMPASS CAN BE SHOWN, THE MEANING OF THE COMPANY'S ADMONITIONS, AND WHO FRUSTRATED THEM, AND WHEREFORE.

WITHIN the limits of the reign of the present King the great act of dacoitee has been accomplished, of which we have been thus far stating the preliminaries. How it was finally consummated will be seen hereafter; but it has been justified on the presumed ground of a series of complaints by British officers of the misgovernment and ruin of the Oude territories. These complaints are paraded in Lord Dalhousie's minute of June 18, 1855; but they are not set forth at length, and their historical context is not exhibited; while there is no recognition of the counter-statements which we have already cited, and to which it would be easy to append many additional ones. There is the testimony, for instance, of Captain Shakespear, who preceded Mr. Davidson as Resident, and who, having risen through almost every grade of the Civil Service, was better qualified to take a more extended view than the generality of such officers, yet who reported to the effect that he had not found more crime and violence in Oude than in those portions of the East India Company's own dominions which he had superintended. There is the testimony, dated 29th May, 1846, and which has not hitherto been published, of his successor Mr. Davidson, a most honourable gentleman, to the comparative orderliness of the Oude population and territories. To Mr. Davidson succeeded Colonel Richmond, during whose Residency his present Majesty, at the age of twenty-five years, ascended the throne, and who was also an officer of the highest integrity, though without experience of civil administration. This officer

may have had differences with the King upon minor questions, but the harmonious terms which subsisted between them, and at which Lord Hardinge, at his visit in 1847, to be mentioned presently, *expressed his great satisfaction*, is a conclusive proof that he saw nothing in the Royal Government to warrant the uniform lurid colouring bestowed on it by Lord Dalhousie. In short, with respect to that catena of abusive passages picked out like so many plums from the long series of despatches of Residents and Governors-General, there is a sufficient answer, if either they are taken with their fair explanations, or compared with their direct contradictions by still better testimonies. The general effect is telling, but the method is tricky; and the compilation is worth attention, less for its pretended proofs of the alleged ruin and misgovernment of Oude, than for its evidences of the superior capacity for misrepresentation of so ingenious a diplomatist as the Marquis of Dalhousie.

Take, for example, his concluding summary, backed up by a little cloud of marginal references which squeeze the condemnatory paragraph into curt but effective dimensions. "From 1839 to 1847 three kings successively sat upon the throne of Oude, but the state of the province in the last-mentioned year was in no respect better than it had been at any previous period, in spite of the earnest advice and solemn warnings repeatedly offered to the King, and urged by the authority of the Supreme Government." Why, as we have already shown (p. 92), in the first of these years Lord Auckland was complimenting the King in a public despatch, because, "*in comparison with times past, he had greatly improved the kingdom*," and all these testimonies of successive Residents, which we have just glanced at, refer seriatim to the years which followed in the very term selected by Lord Dalhousie as a tassel to the tail of his high-flying condemnation. Admitting, however, that admonitions were uttered from time to time, we must never forget that admonitions are cheap, and that to the imputations thus inferred there is a practical answer:—If you, the Indian Government, were so impressed with the misgovernment of Oude, and with "the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling your obligations towards the Oude people," on which you dwelt as a preamble and excuse for the treaty of 1837, how comes it that, at every earnest endeavour of the Princes of Oude to adapt their government to your standard, you stood aloof, you

declined to assist them, you repelled their advances, and you systematically withheld from them your counsel and support? Opportunity was offered to you, from time to time, to give effect to your admonitions, yet you avoided and recoiled from the opportunities thus presented with the apprehensive reluctance of a mad dog to approach water. You disregarded the engagements of Lord Wellesley, and other Governors-General; you peremptorily put aside your "obligations towards the Oude people;" you dropped on the instant your schemes of philanthropy, when an opposite course might have benefited Oude, might have kept its people too prosperous, and its rulers too safe; you discarded, in short, all your lofty professions, lest you might also adjourn the day of annexation, and frustrate your paramount hope of a speedy harvest of rupees. The event clearly shows that confiscation was your aim, while admonitions, which you would not in any way assist in furthering, show equally that your interest in the Oude people was your pretext. Such admonitions may be effective in the despatches of your Dalhousies, but of what account are they when seriously illustrated by your conduct? To show them in their true light of a specious hypocrisy, we shall now refer back to some passages in this history.

One such admonition was addressed by Lord William Bentinck to the King of Oude in 1831, and Lord Dalhousie, in the despatch already referred to (Oude Blue Book, 1856, p. 155), does not forget to dwell upon it with a stately emphasis. We are told that Lord W. Bentinck recommended reforms, but we are not told, also, that when Hakim Nehdi, the minister of the King, was intent upon such reforms, and applied to the Resident for counsel and support, the Resident refused either; and in spite of his sermons, this refusal was supported by the Governor-General.* Again, when the present King ascended the throne, and evinced a desire to improve the state of his kingdom, and more especially to remodel his army, by dispensing with some of the old regiments and raising some fresh ones, to whose instruction and discipline he was in the habit of attending in person, he received a hint that this was unwelcome to the India Government, and in obedience to this hint he was obliged to desist. But a still more impressive example of a similar kind is that of which we are about to give the

*See Mill, ix. p. 373.

details, and which arose out of the admonition, so frequently referred to, of Lord Hardinge.

Lord Dalhousie, in his minute (Oude Blue Book, 1856, p. 156), alludes to this admonition in the vaguest terms; for had he been explicit he must have shown in the very current of his argument that Lord Hardinge's warning was based on the treaty of 1837, that treaty which Lord Dalhousie himself prefers to regard as cancelled. At all events Lord Hardinge, on his return from the Punjaub, in 1847, visited Lucknow, and addressed an admonition to the King; and it is the gravamen of Lord Dalhousie's charge against the Government of Oude that no measures for the reform of the administration of the country were adopted in consequence of this admonition. If, in accordance with this admonition, the Indian Government themselves submitted no plan or proposal to the King for any improvement in the administration of his dominions, it might be held that they were responsible if their admonition was without effect. Their vague "copy-book" advice would excusably be neglected if unaccompanied by plain proposals or definite requirements. But what shall we say to the charge of Lord Dalhousie, if we further find that proposals by the King spontaneously made to accomplish the proposed object of the Indian Government were approved by the Resident, approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, and deliberately and finally discarded by the Governor-General? Yet such was truly the substance of the transaction of which we proceed to give the particulars, at the risk of again delaying the progress of our narrative.

Thus: the warning letter of Lord Hardinge, above mentioned, was dated 23rd November, 1847, and the King of Oude, as early as was practicable, that is to say, in the spring of 1848, applied through his minister, the Nawaub Allie Nukur Khan, to the British Resident for a plan for the introduction of the British system of administration into his dominions, to be tried in the first instance in such portions of them as adjoined the British territories. In consequence of this application, the Resident, Colonel Richmond, assisted the King with his suggestions, and despatched his assistant, Major (then Captain) Bird, to Agra, with the sanction of His Majesty, for the purpose of communicating personally with Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and of framing under his advice

such a scheme of administration as was desired by His Majesty through the minister above named. In accordance with His Majesty's wishes Captain Bird framed proposals, which he submitted to Mr. Thomason, who took them into consideration, and remarked upon them liberally, with a view to bring them into shape and system. Captain Bird returned to Lucknow, bringing with him the scheme so framed or modified by Mr. Thomason, and submitted it to the King's minister, who entirely approved it; but Colonel Richmond, the Resident, decided, before it was submitted to the King officially, it should be sent for approval to the Governor-General; and what do our readers suppose was the fate of the scheme thus officially recognised, improved, and elaborated? It was forwarded to the late Sir Henry Elliot, C.B., Secretary to the Government in the Foreign Department at Calcutta, and he rejected it on the ground that "if His Majesty the King of Oude would give up the whole of his dominions, the East India Government would think of it, but that it was not worth while to take so much trouble about a portion." The King, his Minister, Major Bird, Colonel Richmond, and Mr. Thomason were thus snubbed when they attempted to give effect to the admonitions with which the Kings of Oude were systematically favoured; and the scheme in question, not having been approved, remained in the custody of Major Bird, and though handed to General (then Colonel) Sleeman in the end of 1849 for his information; was returned by that officer, and has been retained ever since by Major Bird, till it is now producible to repel the heaviest charge of that heavy charger, Lord Dalhousie.

That there may be no doubt on the reader's mind as to the extent to which the King of Oude was prepared, and proposed to go to meet the wishes of his allies, this scheme, with its somewhat redundant details, will be given at length, with the remarks of Mr. Thomason, and the questions and answers which refer to the general government of the Oude territories. Though these details may not be generally comprehended, yet any one will collect that they amount to a most extensive change in the nature of the Oude system, so much so that the King might very reasonably suggest that the experiment should be tried in a part of his dominions before it was applied to the whole. Especially if it occurred to him that his government was not so oppressive, or that of the Company so perfect, as the latter represented, he might

fairly desire to see the two systems in juxtaposition under the same sovereignty, as a means of comparison for himself and his accusers. At all events he was ready to make the trial *pro tanto;* and to the highest Indian officials it was solely owing that this trial with all its consequences was for ever prevented. We now subjoin the scheme in the form in which it remains with Major Bird; and lightly as it was rejected, it will be found to be tolerably conclusive.

Proposals

Made in the year 1848 through the Assistant Resident, Captain R. W. BIRD, *by direction of the Resident* Colonel RICHMOND, C.B., *under sanction of* His Majesty WAJID ALI SHAH, *to his* Honour Mr. THOMASON, *the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces of India, for advice in reference to the introduction of a British system of government in certain provinces, of Oude, and his* Honour's *remarks and replies.*

REMARKS BY MR. THOMASON	PROPOSALS
What is the meaning of two provinces?—Say land yielding twenty or thirty lakhs. The transfer, I conclude, is only to be temporary.	That two provinces adjacent to the British territories should, with the King's sanction, be placed under the immediate surveillance of the Resident.
	That the following officers should be appointed by him for the collection of the revenue and the administration of the other duties relative to these districts:—
	An European officer as Superintendent, on 700 rupees, and Office Establishment 100 rupees.
200. It will be better to call him an assistant. He should have powers in all departments.	A Deputy-Collector to every four or five lakhs of revenue collection, on 300 rupees, Establishment 100 rupees.
Sums	For the purpose of fixing an equitable assessment, the Deputy-Collectors shall visit every village in their respective jurisdictions, shall call upon the Canoongoes to produce the *rates* at which the different proprietors have been assessed for the seven previous years, and upon the proprietors to state whether they are satisfied with the amount of revenue last paid, or have objections to offer to it.

This would not answer, I fear. The assessment is too delicate a matter to leave to a Punchayet. Perhaps the distribution of an aggregate amount might well be left to them.

Any doubt as to the proper amount of revenue which ought to be paid shall be settled on the spot by the election of a Punchayet of five of the most respectable persons in the village.

The Punchayet to be formed at once, and no Punchayet to be of longer existence than one day.

The names of the members of the Punchayet to be registered by the Deputy-Collector.

The Puttahs might be given by the assistants. A register of them having been sent to the Superintendent, and approved by him.

No disputed Kabooliet to be binding until it has received the sanction of the Superintendent.

The possession of the power is necessary, but I would not contemplate any general measurement or extensive inquiry into rights or shares.

The Deputy-Collectors shall have full power to measure lands, or call for any information they may require relative to the revenue, rights of tenure, or shares in a village.

This will not answer; and for arrears of revenue can only be efficacious where rights are properly and well defined, and properly understood.

No Kabooliet shall be broken that has not expired; but if a Zumeendar refuses to pay what is considered by the Deputy-Collector and Superintendent as a just revenue, his village or share of a village shall be put up to auction, and in the event of the highest bid not being equal to the sum fixed by the Deputy-Collector or Superintendent, the owner of the village or share shall have the privilege of holding the land at the highest bid, or if he still decline, he shall have 10 per cent. as his right of Nancar out of the highest amount bid for his Zumeendarie or share.

In this case it will be better to follow the present usage, whatever it is.

The owner of a village or share may have the amount of his Nancar in land, such land being entirely free of revenue during the term of the lease of his village or share, and the land given in exchange being fixed by the Deputy-Collector under the Superintendent's sanction.

I would inquire as little as may be into shares. The people understand these things well enough, and will arrange them amongst themselves.

It is allowable, where there are several shares, for the parties to pay the total amount of revenue through one person of their appointment, but these shares must have been clearly defined and settled by the Deputy-Collector and received the sanction of the Superintendent.

A register of the assessment is all that is necessary to record in the several offices. The Canoongoes make their own register.

One copy of the papers of assessment to remain with the Canoongoes, a second with the Deputy-Collectors, and the third with the Superintendent, who shall submit it when necessary through the Resident to the Oude Government.

A simple form of Puttah and Kabooliet may easily be drawn out. It should be in the usual terms and show the total demand is one sum.

Instead of the present plan of a separate Kabooliet, Ekranama, and Kistbundee, the Kabooliet, shall contain the intention of the three; viz., it shall be a contract of revenue declaring on the part of the Zumeendar that he will neither rob nor distress the cultivators, nor exceed his boundary, and stating the amount of each Kist and when to be paid.

The papers of assessment shall contain the accounts of each village and share according to number, viz:—

This is more than is necessary at first, or than can be easily attained.

The number of the village or share, name of the Zumeendar, total amount of revenue, and period of Kist becoming due. These shall be bound in books suitably to the subdivisions made in the districts of each Deputy-Collector.

I would give them general powers, criminal and civil, requiring confirmation of all sentences for imprisonment above two years, and an appeal in every case. Punchayets may be extensively used in deciding civil cases.

The Deputy-Collectors in addition to their revenue duties shall be empowered to try all cases except those appertaining to thuggee and dacoity—those for the suppression of which the Oude Frontier Police has been established—and murder; they shall be guided in their sentences and awards by certain rules limiting their powers, to be hereafter defined; and they shall submit their proceedings through the Superintendent to the Resident, for the information of His Majesty's Durbar.

The sanction of the Resident or King should be necessary for capital punishment.

Any sentence of punishment passed by the Deputy-Collector, and approved by the Superintendent, to be carried into effect by His Majesty's officers without further question; an appeal being open to the Resident, whose decision is final.

The Superintendent, under sanction of the Resident to have the power of returning a case for fresh adjudication, and of overruling the punishment awarded.

A police force, constituted as the present Oude Frontier Police, and consisting of 500 men, to be stationed with the Deputy-Collectors under direction of the Superintendent.

No Zumeendar to be allowed to maintain an armed force.

I would not prohibit this if the people are left defenceless, dacoity will be apt to spring up.

All private taxation by Zumeendars on property, and merchandise passing through their lands, to be strictly forbidden, and the offence cognisable by the Deputy-Collectors.

Some caution will be necessary here. Transit duties are a branch of the Sayer, and are often granted as a right. Too hasty abolition of establishment privileges without compensation will give great offence.

Any Zumeendar taking the law into his own hands, to be in such case punished by dispossession from his Zumeendaric, fine, or imprisonment.

The salaries of the Superintendent and Deputy-Collectors, and the pay of the troops, to be issued monthly to the Superintendent by his Majesty's Government through the Residency Treasury, and the Superintendent to furnish receipts of disbursement.

What are the best measures calculated to obtain a fair assessment of a province hitherto under the farming system?

The record of former payments, the estimates of the Canoongoes, and local inquiries amongst the people form the best foundation for a summary settlement.

Will it be better to find out the area of land by measurement, or take the quantity as described by the King's officers?

It is better not to attempt a measurement; at first Kabooliets on old records and estimates.

Will it be better to introduce the measurement by acres, bearing in mind that the surrounding districts are by Beeghas?

Adhere to Beeghas. Acres should not be mentioned unless it were intended permanently to introduce the British system.

Of course old Kabooliets must be allowed to expire, and the new can only be introduced on their expiration; will it be better to frame these in accordance with the last agreement, to which the Zumeendar has assented, or to make an estimate of a series of years?

The old agreements must of course be respected during their currency. On their expiry, new ones should be framed on the best data, procurable as above.

About what amount of revenue should each Deputy-Collector be intrusted with, and what average should his salary bear to the collection.

I think between five and ten lakhs, according to local division, say two, three, or four pergunnah. His salary may be £300 per mensem, and an establishment, which he must keep up.

What police-force should be attached to Deputy-Collector for collection of revenue, &c.?

This depends on the state of the country. In a disturbed country he will want more, in a peaceable country, less.

What would be the simplest form of keeping the revenue account?

That now in force, the natives are good accountants. It will be difficult to improve their system, though their practice may be amended.

Would the numberment of each village be sufficient, or must each share of a village be numbered?

The assessment should be generally mouzahwar, though several villages may be settled with one owner as a single estate. It is seldom that villages will be found divided.

Should not the owner of each share of a Zumeendarie pay his share direct to the Collector?

It will be better to maintain their custom of paying through a representative.

In the event of a Zumeendar falling into arrears, and his village farmed by another person, what percentage ought to form the Nancar?

Follow old custom in such a case. We allow no Nancar to a defaulter.

Ought a Zumeendar, who has once been removed for falling into arrears, to be replaced in his Zumeendarie previous to the expiration of the current Kabooliet?

This depends upon circumstances. If he pays up the arrears and holds out hope of amendment, it will be generally better to re-admit him.

Is the determination of boundaries to be left to the Zumeendars?

The boundaries can best be settled by Punchayet, but it will be better not to interfere more than is necessary to keep the peace.

Should powers of punishment be fixed by regulation, or left to the present system of law administration?

Some simple criminal code will be necessary, I should think.
The simpler and the more in accordance with native views the better, so that it is just and humane.

Should the Zumeendars be allowed to keep up any armed force?

I would trust for its discontinuance to their own sense of its uselessness and expensiveness.

Having given these tedious details, let us hasten to conclude the chapter. We have seen misrepresentations of the State of Oude, we have seen admonitions founded thereupon; we have seen how these admonitions were frustrated. There remains the course, consistent enough in those whose admonitions were thus aptly barren, and who themselves prevented their counsel from taking effect, that this counsel should be made the plea for annexation. The story will be found of much the same tenor to its close, and we can promise its readers little variety. We now turn to the agents who prepared the catastrophe; and in the foremost rank of those, we meet with Colonel Sleeman.

Chapter VII

OF COLONEL SLEEMAN AS THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENT OF ANNEXATION

COLONEL SLEEMAN was appointed Resident in 1849, and his appointment sealed the doom of Oude and of its dynasty. *Colonel Sleeman was the emissary of a foregone conclusion.* He affected to inspect and make a report, but the character of his report was determined for him *before* he entered Oude. He professed to examine, but he was under orders to sentence; he pretended to try, but he was instructed simply to condemn. This assertion implies a grave inculpation, but it shall be proved beyond a doubt in the course of this chapter.

As to Colonel Sleeman's qualifications, he was an able and zealous officer. More than forty years of his life had been spent in our Indian service, and he had especially signalised himself by a great work, the suppression of that mystery of crime and fraternity of thieves and assassins denominated "Thuggee." He accomplished this work by the possession of qualifications, which are not those of an ordinary employé of administration. Thus he possessed the activity of an inquisitive mind, coupled with the predilections for secrecy which belong to a suspicious character. He was properly selected for the detection of a great criminal conspiracy; but by his efforts in this behalf his peculiarities were developed, and he was subsequently incapacitated for open and candid inquiry. He was confirmed in a preference for private communications and whispered intelligence, and he was ever on the watch, as it were, to surprise some delinquent. It has been said of a certain statesman, ambitious of great effects, that he is always landing at Torbay to deliver some ideal Englishman from an imaginary grievance. It might be said of Colonel Sleeman, in his most composed moments, that he was ever on the look-out to capture a thief.

Set a thief to catch a thief, is an old maxim which by no means applies to so excellent a person as the Colonel. But it was an ingenious thought of Lord Dalhousie, that the converse might hold true, and that a gentleman who had caught dacoits in unexampled numbers was the instrument to assist him in an act of dacoitee unrivalled. Colonel Sleeman was, as it were, made to Lord Dalhousie's hand; but before he went, that there might be no mistake, and no option of impartial scrutiny, he bound him to effect his object by a very definite commission.

This commission we now give; and we may fairly premise that but for Colonel Sleeman's death it would not have seen the light. The attention of our readers is now requested to this unexpected proof that Colonel Sleeman was an instrument sent to do a certain work, and that this work was the inculpation of the Oude Government, thus prejudged and precondemned in the mind of Lord Dalhousie. This commission, in the form of the following letter, runs thus:—

"Government House, Sept. 16, 1848.

"MY DEAR COLONEL SLEEMAN,—It was a matter of regret to me that I had not anticipated your desire to succeed Col. Sutherland in Rajpootana before I made arrangements which prevented by offering that appointment to you. I now regret it no longer, since the course of events has put it in my power to propose an arrangement which will, I apprehend, be more agreeable to you, and which will make your services more *actively* beneficial to the State.

"Colonel Richmond has intimated his intention of immediately resigning the Residency at Lucknow. The communication made by the Governor-General to the King of Oude, in October, 1847, gave His Majesty to understand that if the condition of government was not very materially amended before two years had expired, the management for his behoof would be taken into the hands of the British Government.

"*There seems little reason to expect or to hope that in October, 1849,* ANY AMENDMENT WHATEVER *will have been effected.* THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION of a great, rich, and oppressed country, is a noble as well as an arduous task for the officer to whom the duty is intrusted, and the Government have recourse to one of the best of its servants for that purpose.

"The high reputation you have earned, your experience of civil administration, your knowledge of the people, and the

qualifications you possess as a public man, have led me to submit your name to the Council of India as an officer to whom I could commit this important charge, with entire confidence that its duties would be well performed. I do myself, therefore, the honour of proposing to you to accept the office of Resident at Lucknow, *with especial reference to the great changes*, which, in all probability, will take place. Retaining your superintendency of thuggee affairs, it will be manifestly necessary that you should be relieved from the duty of the trials of Thugs usually condemned at Lucknow.

"In the hope that you will not withhold from the Government your services in the capacity I have named, and in the further hope of finding an opportunity of personally making your acquaintance,

"I have the honour to be,
Dear Colonel Sleeman,
Very faithfully yours,
DALHOUSIE.

To Colonel Sleeman, &c. &c."

After such a letter, we can estimate the cool effrontery with which Colonel Sleeman's inquiry and report were set forth as substantially the foundation and chief basis of Lord Dalhousie's resolve to annex the fated province. Can there be a doubt as to the purport or intended effect of this letter? Can there be a doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that when this letter was written, Oude was already condemned unexamined, untried, beyond the province of inquiry or the possibility of reprieve? Does this letter contain the slightest scintilla of encouragement to Colonel Sleeman to see and judge equitably and impartially for himself, to come to a fair conclusion, and report to his Government? Could Colonel Sleeman, condescending to accept his mission on these terms, retain a doubt in his own mind as to its object? or if he could doubt—for he was given to doubt—does a doubt remain with our readers?

Let us examine the terms of the letter, for there is more in it than is seen immediately. Colonel Sleeman is invited to "*active services.* * * * The Government has recourse to one of the best of its servants for the *reconstruction of the internal administration* of Oude. * * * *Great changes* will, in all probability, take place." Thus much, though reprehensible, is perfectly plain. But why

does Lord Dalhousie conclude that there is "little reason to expect or hope that in October, 1849, *any amendment* "WHATEVER will have been effected?" If the reader will remember the last chapter, the proposals for a very extensive amendment, in English eyes, had been proferred by the Oude Government, canvassed by our officials, developed and detailed into a complete scheme by Major Bird and Mr. Thomason, had been approved by Colonel Richmond, and had been only deprived of effect by their having been necessarily submitted for the final sanction of Lord Hardinge. Of course Lord Dalhousie knew in 1849 that no amendment whatever had been effected, when the Governor-General insured in '48 that no amendment whatever should be possible.

The story hangs together in a chain of knowledge and foreknowledge, of prepared cause and expected effect, and Oude was already tied in the noose when the end of the rope was handed to Colonel Sleeman. The Colonel pulled the rope to the required degree of tension, and soon involved Oude in the confusion desiderated. Then he reported on the confusion thus occasioned, and so completed the "*active* services" expected by Lord Dalhousie. To describe his conduct in the language of the King of Oude's Petition of May, 1857, to the House of Commons, "in obvious disregard of the treaties hereinbefore quoted, and of the instructions given to successive British Residents by successive Governors-General,* Colonel Sleeman, from an early period after his appointment, commenced a course of conduct highly derogatory to the dignity of the Sovereign of Oude, calculated to give personal offence to the King and to his minister, to degrade His Majesty in the eyes of his people, and to make his Government unpopular and contemptible. In the face of solemn engagements

*It has been stated that in the year 1798 a treaty was entered into between the Honourable Company and Saadat Alie. Upon that occasion the Nawaub Vizier transmitted to the Governor-General (Marquis Wellesley) a series of propositions to which he required the Governor-General's assent. The first of these propositions and the answer thereto are as follow:—

Proposition 1—Let no one, as has hitherto been the practice, afford countenance and support to any person, to impede the recovery of just balances from Aumils and others; but, on the contrary, let him (meaning the Resident) afford assistance to the Circar or Government in the recovery of those balances. If the Resident is desirous of withholding me from the prosecution of any particular measure, let him state his sentiments to me in private, in which case (as I am far from being disposed to act unjustly) either I will prove to the Resident the equity of the proceeding, or the Resident will set me right; and, in the latter event, I will, in conformity to his desire, abandon such proposed measure, and no one will be apprised of any disagreement subsisting between us.

not to interfere with the due course of justice, Colonel Sleeman in effect erected the British Residency into a Supreme Court of Appeal from the decision of His Majesty's judges, and took upon himself, in some instances to interfere with the decision of the Moojtahid-ool-usser, or Mahomedan High Court of Justice. Without any proper warranty, and in contravention of all the treaties between the British Government and Oude, Colonel Sleeman, at great cost, and at the expense of the King and Government of Oude, made a tour of three months, or thereabouts, in the provinces of Oude, in the course of which he engaged himself in collecting complaints, and in consequence applications and petitions were sent in to him by the King's people for redress of grievances, or pretended grievances; he revived disputes and claims which had been judicially decided for twenty or even thirty years previously; he descended to abusive personalities to annoy the King and other members of the Royal Family, and by these and other unwarrantable and vexatious proceedings, he threw the Government of Oude into a state of confusion, prevented the due administration of justice, rendered the collection of the revenue of the State difficult, and in some cases impossible, and thereby unhinged the whole social and political system of the State, to whose rulers he was bound by treaty to give his best advice and counsel, with a view to the establishment of order and good government."

Some proofs of these averments will now be given in detail. They are taken from the pamphlets of Major Bird and M. M. Musseehood-deen, both personally conversant with the circumstances, and they can be substantiated, according to the Royal Family's desire, whenever an inquiry is granted by either House of Parliament.

In the first place, Colonel Sleeman interfered directly to restrain the King's liberty to appoint or retain about him the ministers of his choice. A case of this kind occurred in the in-

Answer—Unobjectionable; and this proposal shall be observed. The Resident shall be furnished by His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier with all the information necessary to establish the justice of the proceeding by vouchers and proofs.

It will be found, however, that Colonel Sleeman took the most public and offensive mode of showing the misunderstanding which existed between himself and the Oude Government.—For other engagements to abstain from interference on the part of the Resident, and which Colonel Sleeman recklessly infringed, *see* the King's Reply, p. 9.

stance of WUSSEE ULLY KHAN, who was at this time Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister. Wussee Ully was an intelligent, educated, and experienced person, well acquainted with English laws and institutions, and distinguished for the faithful and efficient discharge of his duties. Colonel Sleeman, who was aware that, so long as a person so deservedly popular remained in office, he himself could not hope to make up a case against the King, addressed a letter, on the 2nd of March, 1849, to His Majesty, stating that Wusee Ully Khan, during the Residences of Colonels Low and Caulfield, had been dismissed and banished, and requesting His Majesty to cause him, as a seditious person, to quit Lucknow forthwith. The King, who was convinced of Wussee Ully's innocence, declined acceding to Colonel Sleeman's request, observing that "his (Wussee Ully's) banishment without any proof whatever of his guilt, will be the cause of considerable disorder in my kingdom." Colonel Sleeman again wrote to the King, and was not ashamed to declare to His Majesty —"*There is no necessity to prove his (Wussee Ully's) guilt, as the appointment imposed upon him is not his jageer or hereditary property. Therefore it is not necessary at the time of his dismissal to investigate the proofs.*" But His Majesty was not prepared thus to treat a faithful servant while he retained his convictions that the imputations brought against him were false and malicious. He was nevertheless, however, eventually compelled to comply with the Resident's requisition; and Wussee Ully was ordered to quit Lucknow, whereupon he retired to his private estate. While he was living in privacy, he assisted, however, in capturing a certain Gungga Bukhsh, of whom we shall hear presently, and against whom a proclamation was issued as being a person whom the King and Colonel Sleeman both desired to apprehend.

Great as was Colonel Sleeman's satisfaction when he heard of this caputre, it was considerably diminished upon his finding that Wussee Ully was the person to whom he was indebted for this service; and to such a degree did he allow his personal dislike to overcome his sense of justice, that although in the order he issued on the Urzee or petition of Wussee Ully, and which is dated 18th September, 1850, he states "Whatever Wussee Ully had written and sent respecting the apprehension of Gungga Bukhsh and his son Runjeet Bukhsh, is, to my knowledge, quite correct and certain, and is a true detail of the manner in which

the parties have been apprehended;" he, nevertheless, would not allow His Majesty to confer the promised reward upon Wussee Ully, whom he accused of having induced Gungga Bukhsh to surrender by holding out to him the hope of a pardon. The King remonstrated with Colonel Sleeman, by letter, upon the impropriety of refusing the reward to Wussee Ully, but all His Majesty could urge was of no avail; Colonel Sleeman not only pertinaciously refused to fulfil the promise contained in the proclamation, but insisted more strongly than ever that Wussee Ully should be banished from the kingdom.

The following order was accordingly issued by the King, and is a curious evidence of the pressure to which His Majesty was subjected:—

TRANSLATION of an ORDER from H. M. the KING OF OUDE TO WUSSEE ULLY KHAN, dated 3rd Rubbeeoolaval, 1270 Hegira (corresponding with Nov. 24, 1853).

"Whereas Wussee Ully in an hereditary servant of the Government of Oude, which he has served for thirty years, during all which period His Majesty has had no fault to find with him in the performance of his duties or services, either to the Government of the Honourable Company, or to that of His Majesty, although His Majesty had examined carefully into Wussee Ully's conduct. In consequence, however, of the strict orders of the Resident, he was sent out of town for a short time, and, by the permission of the Resident, he was recalled and permitted to return and rejoin his family.

"The Resident, however, has again desired both repeatedly and peremptorily his banishment: therefore, in order to carry into effect the instructions of our friend the Resident:

"Wussee Ully is ordered to stay out of town, until he regain the favour and good opinion of the Resident, which event will be the source of pleasure to His Majesty, and for the welfare of Wussee Ully Khan.

"His Majesty gladly bears his testimony to the entire satisfaction Wussee Ully's conduct has afforded him, and has a firm impression that Wussee Ully is innocent."

Sealed and signed as usual by His Majesty the King of Oude.

The above document is a witness against Colonel Sleeman, and a proof of the allegation in the King of Oude's Petition,

that the Colonel was degrading His Majesty in the eyes of his people and making his government unpopular and contemptible. But this is not the whole of the story of Wussee Ully. Colonel Sleeman, not satisfied with the efforts he had made to effect his ruin, and prompted by the suspicions to which, as we said, he gave the rein, subsequently endeavoured to implicate this officer in an attempt which he alleged had been made to assassinate himself. There was no foundation for these suspicions, for the facts were simply as follows. One night a sentry on duty in a verandah of the Residency house, fired his musket, and the Chuaprasees hearing the report, inquired the cause; the sentry said that two armed men had come and had asked where Colonel Sleeman then was, but he had replied that he did not know, and that when the persons had gone on a few paces, their coming armed at such a late hour struck him as strange, and he had fired at them. Next day at noon a message was brought from the Resident mentioning the occurrence, and complaining of the Sepoys, whose duty it was to guard the Residency, requesting also to have a fund set apart to maintain an additional guard. This was granted, and orders were given for the apprehension of the offenders; yet not a week elapsed before a similar occurrence took place. The sentry who was over the vault attached to the Residency house, again fired his musket; people ran to ascertain, what it was, when he stated that an armed man had come and had not answered when challenged, and thus he had felt it his duty to fire. The palm of the sentry's hand was however wounded by the bullet; and in the morning a regular investigation was made, when particles of gunpowder were found on the sentry's sleeve, while the sleeve itself was found to be scorched. A bullet, moreover, was found in the ceiling over the sentry's position, and the bullet and powder were observed also to correspond with those in the sentry's pouch; in short, from all the evidence, it appeared pretty certain that the sentry had his hand over the muzzle of his gun while asleep, and that his foot or some other part of his body must have set off the piece, and the ball must have passed through palm of his hand into the ceiling. The sentry, in order to hide his neglect of duty, had invented the story of an armed man coming to him, &c. &c., thus raising the presumption of a similar invention on the former occasion, especially as no one was caught or seen by the persons who then went in search, and though the yard of the

Residency was surrounded by a high wall, and sentries were stationed within and without it, so that had any one obtained an entrance it was next to impossible he could have escaped.

The sequel of the story has, however, yet to be recounted. Colonel Sleeman was so unreasonable, that notwithstanding these objections to the probability of any attempt whatever at assassination, he reiterated his restless suspicions to the King, and declining himself to institute an inquiry, cast upon the King the responsibility of dealing with this frivolous accusation. His Majesty, considering that such a charge should not be lightly made against persons whom he honoured with his confidence, and who held responsible situations in his service, forthwith ordered that the subject should be brought before a tribunal specially convened for the purpose. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, 1853, the investigation took place in due form before His Majesty the Sultan Oolmah Syed Mahomed, the Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice, and the principal civil and military authorities. Colonel Sleeman was invited to be present, but refused to attend. Yet after a full and lengthened investigation, the Court decided unanimously that the accused parties, including Wussee Ully, were wholly innocent of the crime laid to their charge, and they were, in consequence, honourably acquitted. It might have been supposed that, after such a verdict, Colonel Sleeman would at least have ceased to persecute the unfortunate object of his unreasonable suspicions. So far, however, was this from being the case, that he still with a cruel vindictiveness continued to harass Wussee Ully, till at length, worn out with anxiety, grief, and mortification, the latter escaped from his persecutor, by death. Like other and more important victims of the Company's policy, Wussee Ully is said to have died broken-hearted in the beginning of the year 1855.*

*That this unfortunate personage was differently regarded by other Englishmen with whom he had come in contact, is proved by the testimonies which we now append.

"Wussee Ully Khan, the bearer of this, has been in the habit of frequently calling on me since I have been in command at Lucknow, and I have always found him respectful and gentlemanly in his manners, and I have pleasure in complying with his request for this chit.

(Signed) F. JOHNSTON, Maj.-Gen.

Lucknow, May 6, 1841."

"Wussee Ully Khan Mehmandar, appointed, on the part of the King of Lucknow, to furnish the camp of the Right Honourable the Governor-General

The next case to be mentioned is the converse of the above, and it comes in proof of the same allegation in the Petition, as personal offence was by this means given to the King, and he was further degraded in the eyes of his people. Thus the King had ordered a person named KURRUN UHMUD to leave his territories, from this individual had been guilty of perjury, had been endeavouring to sow disaffection, and to bring His Majesty's Government into contempt, among other means by acting as a spy and secret informer, and by conveying to the Resident himself every report, however false, which he could pick up to the discredit of His Majesty. Colonel Sleeman interfered, as a matter of course, to protect this disreputable person, and upon hearing of his intended punishment on the 1st of February, 1854, the Colonel addressed a letter to the King, an abstract of which is as follows:—

"Because Moonshee Kurrun Uhmud is in the habit of visiting me and my assistant, therefore you have determined upon banishing him: now, let it be distinctly understood, that if your Majesty will persist in so doing, I will forbid your Prime Minister, Vakeel, &c., from calling upon me; and further, I will write to the Governor-General in Council, and inform him that your Majesty objects to *any* of your subjects visiting me, in which case it would be better to abolish the Residency, and remove the British troops altogether from the country: thus the King has assumed the attitude of a *rebel*."

In the next place, Colonel Sleeman, in derogation of the King's dignity, required him to erase from his royal seal the word "Ghazee" (His Majesty's hereditary title), a word which could not in the least degree effect the East India Company's authority; and to make this requisition the more galling, it was signified by means of an *official order*, not by a letter to His Majesty; the effect being further to lower the King in the eyes of

with supplies, on its progress from Cawnpore to Lucknow, has used every exertion to do so, and has most satisfactorily performed the task imposed on him.

(Signed) W. HARRISON, G.A.

Lucknow, Nov. 23, 1847."

"Wussee Ully Khan, Superintendent of the Ihteman Establishment on the part of the King of Oude, was of great use to us during the time he was in attendance in our camp.

(Signed) H. M. ELLIOTT

Lucknow, Nov. 22, 1847."

his subjects.* On p. 17 of the Oude Blue Book, 1856, will be found a specimen of the letters, teeming with official impertinence, which Colonel Sleeman was in the habit of addressing to the King, to whom the instructions of former Residents required them to show courtesy, but whom he treated openly with insolence and contempt.

We now proceed to another class of cases which show his interference with the proceedings of the Oude Courts of Justice, and his encouragement (again in violation of existing engagements) of complaints made to himself in disparagement of the King's authority. The reader will find in the Oude Blue Book (quoted above), on p. 29, some proceedings of this class, though a favourable specimen, inasmuch as a specious excuse is there alleged for the particular instance; and if he turns to p. 167, which describes the influence thus acquired by the Resident, he may trace, from cause to effect, the work of disorganisation. The cases which follow are still more remarkable, for they show that Colonel Sleeman went to lengths inconceivable, if they were not exposed on the trustworthy testimony of Major Bird. The first case, for the sake of distinction, we will call that of CHUTTER SINGH.

A certain man, we are told, complained in private to the Resident that he and a comrade were returning to their homes, and that when passing the village Bigharie, they were seized by Chutter Singh, the brother of the Zemindar, and taken into Bigharie—that there his comrade's head was cut off, and that he himself was confined in Chutter Singh's house, expecting the same fate, but having a few rupees, he bribed a woman in the house and escaped. The Resident at once, *without either consulting the King or obtaining his consent*, ordered out two of the Honourable Company's guns and a wing of the 10th Regiment N. I. under Captain Hardwicke, to proceed to Bunnee, when the force was to be joined by Lieutenant Weston, commanding the Oude Frontier Police, and Captain Barlow, of the King of Oude's service, with about fifty of his cavalry. Sealed orders were given to Captain Hardwicke to proceed to Bigharie, to summon Chuttar Singh,

*On p. 31 of the King's Reply, it is alleged that the Colonel even refused the complimentary presents of fruit which, as a mark of good-will, had been customarily sent to the Residency; whereby public occasion was unnecessarily given for inferences that the King and the Resident were not on terms of amity.

and if he refused to come in, the *village was to be destroyed.* The force reached Bigharie, but found no fortifications nor show of resistance. Simultaneously, the cultivators of a neighbouring village came to offer assistance to the British force, but their offer was declined by Captain Hardwicke. Lieutenant Weston thereupon summoned Chutter Singh, and some delay occurred, but at Captain Barlow's recommendation, one of His Majesty's camel orderlies—"Shooter Sowars"—was sent into the village, when Chutter Singh came out and was put into confinement. The complainant was then called upon to point out where his comrade's head had been cut off, and where he had been confined, but failed to do so—no such act having ever taken place. Had it not been that Captain Hardwicke was a judicious officer, and hesitated blindly to carry out his instructions, and had it not been for Captain Barlow's forethought in sending a subsequent message by a King's messenger to the village of Bigharie, the village would have been destroyed. This story has, however, a still more discreditable aspect. The complainant had been a sepoy of the 55th B.N.I., ignominiously dismissed for theft. The village of Bigharie had long had a boundary dispute with the neighbouring village. The ready ear of the Government representative was known, and it was hoped that this dismissed sepoy would excite him to give orders which would cause the destruction of the Bigharie village, and settle the boundary dispute without further trouble. This result was as nearly coming to pass as could be. Thus, and with such effect, were the Oude Courts of Law dispensed with, and such were the measures taken on a hasty and erroneous presumption. Distrust and confusion were thus introduced into the King's dominions, and their cultivators seeing a British force thus recklessly employed, very naturally inferred that we were about to take the country, and very logically proceeded to withhold the payment of their taxes.

Colonel Sleeman, however, even went the length of supporting certain of these in their refusal, as the next case to be mentioned will sufficiently prove. Thus, Rajah HUNWANT SINGH, of Kalla Kanker, Elaka Salone, would not pay the assessed revenue, and Khan Ali Khan, the Aumil, or native collector, tried to coerce him; but the Rajah, well aware of the Resident's ready ear, came over to Lucknow and attached himself to that officer, who listened to his statement, and not only gave him the protection of daily

riding by the side of his carriage, so that the Oude authorities might see the small chance of success likely to result from their attempt to recover the King's revenue, but also went security for him for a house which the Rajah took in Cantonments, within the precincts of which the King's authority did not extend. The security paper is in Major Bird's possession, and a copy of it is given below in a note.* Such was another mode by which the action of the King's Government was weakened, and its resources were crippled.† Such were the means by which the case required by Lord Dalhousie, and expected of Colonel Sleeman, was gradually made out.

The next case is one which makes a large figure in the Oude Blue Book, but of which it is alleged that these are the true particulars. MOHOMED HUSSEIN, the Aumil, or revenue collector, of the district of Baraitch, came, in the course of his collections, to that portion of his district which belonged to the Talookdar Ram Dutt. The Talookdar visited the Aumil's office tent, in the front of which, a large space of ground, some sixty yards by forty,

*"Lucknow, 27th June, 1851.

"SIRS,—Should you have any doubt about Rajah Lall Hunwunt Singh's paying for the Bungalow when the money becomes due in September next, I have no objections to pledge myself to pay it if the does not.

Yours obediently,
(Signed) W. H. SLEEMAN.

Messrs. Brandon and Co."

True Copy
H. Mc. IVOR.

True Copy
R. W. BIRD

†The whole story of Hunwant Singh is thus given in the King's Reply pp. 10 and 11:—"Another strange affair is that Hanwant Singh, Talookdar of Kala Kankar in Salone, having had an audience of Colonel Sleeman on his arrival in that district, resided with him, and confident of being backed by that officer, desired a reduction in the revenue he had along paid to the Government. Colonel Sleeman directed Muhammad Khan my Wakil, to dispose of Hanwant Singh's case with the Talookdar of Salone. Though Hanwant Singh paid in that year as much as he chose, and in the year following wished for greater benefit to himself, yet, solely In Colonel Sleeman's account, I prevented the Tahsildar from interfering, and, at a low rate of jumma, brought his estate under the Huzur Tahsil system. This continued for two years, but though he thereby obtained considerable profit, Hanwant Singh deliberately committed another notable fraud. He filed the receipt of the wages of certain of the subordinate officials, but paid them no money; for instance, Khan Muhammad Jamadar, staff-bearer, a servant of Government committed suicide, as he could not obtain his wages, notwithstanding frequent applications; and in like manner, Lal Muhammad, Darogha in charge of the elephants, Nabi Baksh, Jamadar in charge of the leopards, and Jhau Singh, Jamadar in charge of the lions, were, in consequence of the thousands of rupees of theirs being in Hanwant Singh's custody, and of their inability to realise the same, completely ruined. In face of the above, Hanwant Singh demanded a fresh *nankar* in the following year, purchased by the advice of Colonel Sleeman a *bungalow* in the cantonments

was inclosed as usual by a Kanaut,* to keep off the crowd. At the interview with the Aumil, Ram Dutt refused to pay the revenue assessed. He was told that he could not take his leave without doing so, but he got up, and, with his followers, some thirteen men, left the tent and went into the inclosed space outside where the Aumil's guard was in attendance. He was again told that he could not leave that inclosure with coming to some arrangement, on which he drew a pistol and fired on the Aumil's guard. On this a disturbance took place, and Ram Dutt was killed in the fight by some of the Aumil's followers. The Talookdar's lawyer,

at Mudyaon, and continued to reside there. And although Colonel Collins, the Resident, had distinctly engaged, that with the exception of troops, and the suppliers of the market belonging thereto, no other person would be allowed to remain within the cantonments, and although Colonel Sleeman was aware of these matters, he himself had the *bungalow* purchased by Hanwant Singh, who, by residing there, escaped from the demands of those whose receipts he had filed, while his two sons collected the revenue for the following year from the ryots, and kept it with them. Dissatisfied with the evil conduct of Hanwant Singh for the last three years, and finding his wickedness increase every year, and thereby the life and property of my servants imperilled, I gave orders for Hanwant Singh's punishment, after informing the Resident of all particulars. Hanwant Singh, relying on Colonel Sleeman's protection, fortified himself and prepared to resist my Tahsildar. This warfare continued for about a month, and about two or three hundred men were killed and wounded. When provisions having decreased, Hanwant Singh despatched his two sons, who were equally guilty with himself, to Shahjehanpore, and himself travelled by dawk to the cantonments, where he lived openly, and where, leaving aside any question as regards his punishment or any inquiry into his evil doings, my servants could not even approach the limits of his bungalow. Hanwant Singh, while besieged, also cut off the noses and hands of two of my subjects, accusing them of having remained in their houses, while he was obliged to flee. These having complained to me, I despatched them to Colonel Sleeman, who said that Hanwant Singh was at liberty to do what he chose with his tenants, paid no attention as to redressing their grievances, and wrote a letter to the Magistrate of Shahjehanpore, to allow Hanwant Singh's sons and servants to retain their arms, and to suffer no one to oppose them. Here, that part of the treaty of 1801, which placed upon the English Government the responsibility of preserving Oude from any internal foe became ineffectual, and also that portion of the treaty of 1802, which related to the delivery of criminals to the Oude Government, became of no effect. Moreover, the usual practice of Colonel Sleeman, who in other cases used to offer his remakrs changed in this case. Having no remedy, and seeing this state of affairs, I remained quiet, and directed my officers to act according to the Resident's desire: accordingly, Khan Ali, Tahsildar of Salone, against whom Colonel Sleeman, merely to please Hanwant Singh, often brought accusations, was discharged, and I directed Hanwant Singh to proceed to Lucknow, or wherever he chose, without fear of molestation.

"Thus while the properties and lives of several of my subjects were endangered, the revenue of two years lost, and myself slighted, Hanwant Singh, relying upon Colonel Sleeman, passed his days in ease and comfort."

There is evidence also on p. 24 of Colonel Sleeman's even remitting *taxes* which were due to His Majesty.

*Canvas partition.

Sudhan Lall, and Adjhoodia Pershad, head man of Ram Dutt, complained to Colonel Sleeman. In the meantime, the servants of Mohomed Hussein continued collecting the revenue in the Pergunna, towards the Gorruckpore frontier, and here again were opposed, and a fight took place between Kissun Dutt, brother of Ram Dutt, with his people, and the Aumil's followers. The former, as is often done to evade payment, retiring towards the narrow river Raptee, which at this point separates the two countries, the Aumil's followers endeavoured to arrest them. In this struggle a shot went across the river and killed a Brahmin, named Biswas Mitter. Mr....., the British officer, addressed the Resident, who forthwith called upon the Oude Court to dismiss the Aumil, Mohomed Hussein, and in this official document complained of the murder of Ram Dutt. His Majesty, influenced with a desire to keep on terms with the British Government, dismissed the Aumil, and with the concurrence of the Resident, made him over for trial on account of the murder of Ram Dutt to the highest Court of Justice in Oude, that presided over by the Moojthahid-ool-ussur, the High Priest. An investigation was commenced, and whilst it was progressing, Mohomed Hussein sent a lawyer over to Gorruckpore, asking the officer in charge of the district to institute inquiries regarding the death of the Brahmin Biswas Mitter, caused by the shot which had crossed the river, and complaining that he had been summarily dismissed without inquiry, simply on the British magistrate's complaint. The officer in charge of the Gorruckpore district declared that this dismissal was not influenced by him, and verbally acquitted the Aumil of all blame, but refused to place his opinion on paper. Mohomed Hussein's Vakeel proceeded and related the circumstances in full to the commissioner of the district, who, after due inquiry from the Gorruckpore officer, gave papers acquitting the Aumil Mohomed Hussein of all blame, and forwarded copies of the same to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Thus the influence of the Resident caused the removal from his post of the Aumil Mohomed Hussein without sufficient reason as regarded the shot fired across the river, and the death of the Brahmin Biswas Mitter. And more than this, the Aumil was punished before any investigation was made into the merits of the original case, *i.e.*, the firing a shot into the British boundary, and thereby causing the death of a British subject. The second accusation,

that of the murder of Ram Dutt, was brought to a conclusion by the Moojtahid-ool-ussur, who pronounced the Aumil Mohomed Hussein not guilty of the murder of Ram Dutt, on two grounds: firstly, that the Aumil was *not present* in the affray between Ram Dutt with his followers and the guard of the Aumil; secondly, he had given no orders likely to cause such affray or death. He was neither the principal in nor accessory to the death of Ram Dutt. This decision of the highest Court of Justice in Oude was communicated to the Resident, who disapproved of and refused to acknowledge it, and demanded that the Aumil Mohamed Hussein should either be made over to him for trial or sent to the magistrate of Gorruckpore. The King, however, declined to accede to this measure, and the Resident (Colonel Sleeman) reported the circumstance to the Indian Government, who very properly decided, that as the Resident had himself agreed to the trial of the case before the Oude Court, he could not now raise an objection, but there is reason to believe that a hint was simultaneously given, that the Resident should have taken the case into his own hands from the commencement. Be this as it may, the interference of Colonel Sleeman in this as in other instances was sufficient for its purpose, and the Government had no occasion to stimulate the zeal of their instrument.

But the crowning effort of the Colonel was the *tour* which he made throughout the Oude dominions in the cold season of 1850. The Oude Government opposed this proceeding, and even the British Government forbade it, except with the King's sanction. Notwithstanding this, the Resident determined to carry out his plans, and represented to His Majesty that he was going out to a small place about five miles off called Chinahut, and a short way on. The King regretted the Resident was troubling himself, but still no sanction was given. Yet Colonel Sleeman upon this made a tour through the kingdom, receiving petitions and complaints on the most liberal scale,* and illustrating at

*As the King complains, in his Reply, p. 9 "In his very first halt, on the occasion of his tour through Oude, he received petitions from my subjects; he used, with reference to some of them, to write letters to my Government, advising it how to act, and, on the back of certain other petitions, to direct the complainants to carry their complaints before the King. In consequence of the attention paid to their petitions, and of their considering Colonel Sleeman's directions on their petitions to be as a sort of recommendation by him, the inhabitants began to send in a countless number of petititons; many cases, which had been disposed of twenty or thirty years ago, were instituted in a new

ever stage the words of Hooker that, "he who goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers." During this tour he collected materials for his reports to Lord Dalhousie, and *created* other materials; for as he issued orders upon these petitions at once, and was perhaps before many hours induced to change his mind and issue contrary instructions, he added confusion to confusion.† This course again, was directly in the teeth of the explanation given to the treaty of 1801, by Lord Wellesley, dated 24th February, 1802, and was thus an infraction of that treaty. Moreover, the Colonel accomplished this feat at the cost of the Oude Government, and its royal family were charged three lakhs of rupees for the expenses of this very tour, which undermined their authority, diminished their revenue, and was the principal source of the charges afterwards brought against them.

In short, to sum up this portion of the case, in upwards of a hundred and fifty instances, Colonel Sleeman directly and

form; while those whose cases were pending before the King, presented petitions on the same matter before the Resident. And when the inhabitants found that their petitions were transmitted by the Resident to the King for adjudication, they commenced presenting petitions one after another, after the lapse of every seven days, in the hope that the transmission of each and all of them would, by causing a hurried inquiry, obtain for them their wishes."

†It was on this tour that some person made a complaint against the man already mentioned in the case of Wussee Ully, viz., Gunga Bux, of Kassimgunge and Battaiee, on which complaint Col. Sleeman, after his return from the district, sent out two guns, two companies of the 10th N.I., the Oude Local Infantry, and some of the King's corps, to surround the fort. Vain were His Majesty's requests that the Resident would abstain from this active interference and use of troops. Vain were the offers of the holders of the fort to come in, if a proper guarantee of a fair inquiry was given. An attack was commenced without any preconcerted plan. The men of the fort were fired on by a young officer of the 10th N.I., who forced open the outer gate, and introduced one of the guns, and the occupiers of the fort, driven to the last extremity, attacked and killed Lieutenant Ellerton, and killed and wounded some twenty-four or twenty-five sepoys, and fled during the night to the jungles. They were in due course pursued; and one morning, early, Captain Orr, commanding the O.L. Police Corps, came upon some persons in a small tope or wood, attacked them, and killed twenty-two persons, amongst whom were two women. These were unfortunate villagers belonging to that district who had sought refuge on the arrival of the military force in the jungles and wilds, and who were not personally concerned in the fight at the fort. It has sought to be shown in vindication, that some of the party were servants of Gunga Bux; but this was not really the case. The district in which this tragedy was performed was much injured, and almost the whole of its revenue lost. But what was the accusation? It was stated to the Resident that Gunga Bux was a dacoit, and had killed a man; the fact being, that a border affray had taken place seventeen years previously, in which one of the opposite party had been killed.

unwarrantably interfered with the action of the Oude Government, and at the same time clandestinely, as well as openly, collected every fact, and every rumour, false or true, which could tell in English opinion to its disparagement. To such a length did he carry out his instructions, that he encouraged the disaffected subjects of the King, wherever such could be found, to enter their names upon a list, complaining of the rule of the Oude Government, and expressing a desire for the assumption of the country by the East India Company. In the summer of 1854, his health, however, failed, and he had to transact the business of the Residency for a time by deputy, until he was obliged to retire, and leave his work to be finished by General Outram; but, before he succumbed, it was already substantially accomplished. He had worked as enjoined, "with reference to the great changes" about to take place, and he had found or made such materials as Lord Dalhousie wanted. He had *answered* Lord Dalhousie's letter by creating confusion throughout the kingdom of Oude, and by emphatically recording the confusion he had made; and he had charged the Oude Government handsomely for the performance. At this stage we lose sight of himself personally, but he remains, in virtue of his mission and its consequences, the source of the sequel and residue of this history.

Chapter VIII

OF GENERAL OUTRAM AS FINISHING THE WORK OF COLONEL SLEEMAN.

GENERAL OUTRAM was sent to finish the work of Colonel Sleeman, by appointment from the Supreme Council, on the 24th November, 1854; and in his capacity of officiating Resident at Lucknow was enjoined to inquire into and report to them upon the state of the country. His report was required "with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman from time to time described them to be;" in short, his function was sufficiently indicated by suggesting to him the question,—could he endorse and countersign the report of his predecessor? General Outram, as is well known, is an energetic officer, and he arrived at Lucknow on the 5th of December; and by the 15th of the following March his inquiry was complete, and his report, which decided the fate of a kingdom, was produced. A quarter's notice in England commonly serves to eject a tenant; but General Outram, at a quarter's notice, contrived to eject a dynasty.

His report was, of course, an able performance, which will be found in its place in the Oude Blue Book, and on which, in common with the rest of the contents of that ingenious volume, we shall have various comments to make by and by. It was also elaborately detailed, concluding on the state of Oude under the seven several heads of—(1) The Sovereign; (2) Revenue and Finance; (3) Judicial Courts and Police; (4) Army; (5) Roads and Public Works; (6) Statistics of Crime; (7) Oppression, Cruelty, &c. These divisions and their contents are apparently the arrows which have filled Lord Dalhousie's quiver, but their points are somewhat blunted by an admission at the outset, which the gentle reader should on no account overlook. "*In*

the absence of any personal experience in this country," says General Outram, "I am of course, *entirely dependent* for my information on what I find in the Residency Records, and can ascertain through the channels which supplied my *predecessor.*" In other words, the result, elaborate as it seems, has the inconsistency of the device practised upon the blind patriarch—"The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau:" the language is the language of Outram, but the sense is the sense of Sleeman.

We put this report aside for the present, in order to complete the narrative. While General Outram was Resident at Lucknow the tumult occurred which was called the Hunooman disturbance. This disturbance was highly coloured, as an available drop-scene to precede the final act of Annexation, but properly and fairly regarded it is of no consequence in this history. It appears that in this particular year, by an unlucky coincidence, a day of Hindoo festivity coincided with a day of Mahomedan mourning, and there were more or less disturbances in consequence all over India, wherever a Hindoo or Mahomedan population intermingled. "You shall not grieve," said the Hindoos, "while we rejoice;" "You shall not rejoice," said the Mahomedans, "while we grieve;" and from this contrariety they proceeded to riot and fight. At Delhi, at Allahabad, at Agra, at Ajmere, and at various other places, there was confusion in consequence, while in Oude a certain fanatic, Ameer Ally, made the circumstance an occasion for an onslaught on the Hindoos. The Royal Family of Oude are themselves Mahomedans; but so far from countenancing this violence, if anything could show the judgement as well as the desire of the King to meet the views of the Company, it was his circumspect conduct on this particular occasion. He was unwilling to justify the charge of "systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule," which the Company urged against him, and so hesitated to use force to put down this outbreak until he had received a written authorisation to this effect from General Outram. As soon, however, as he had obtained this, setting aside all presumed feelings of sympathy with his co-religionists, he gave stringent instructions for the suppression of the disturbance (persuasion and milder methods having been tried in vain), and thus speedily brought the disturbance to a close. An outbreak, of which the cause was

temporary, and of which the recurrence was improbable, thus ended without further conflict or consequence. Yet Lord Dalhousie, in 1856, alleges this as a reason why there would be risk in withdrawing the British troops from Lucknow (Oude Blue Book, p. 300). The risk was imaginary, but an excuse was wanted, and an excuse is found in an exceptional transaction, an excuse so inadequate that it is only available so long as the British public is kept in ignorance of the circumstances.

It was never in contemplation to withdraw the British troops, for these troops were indispensable to the measures really contemplated. But to resume the narrative:—Major Outram made a report out of old and suspicious materials; he prefaced it with an acknowledgment of his own inexperience; and though such a report, in the words of the Royal Petition, "ought not to influence the rights of an individual, much less the destinies of a realm," it was quite sufficient for the objects of Lord Dalhousie. On the 18th of June following he himself prepared a state paper, entitled a "Minute," based exclusively upon this report of General Outram (that is to say, on the deposits of the Sleeman formation), and in which he proceeded to place before the Court of Directors a brief review of the condition of Oude, and to "suggest the measures which it appears incumbent to take regarding it." In this paper he repudiated the treaty of 1837 (a proceeding which for convenience sake we will discuss separately), and, looking only to the treaty of 1801, he proposed that the Resident should be instructed to declare it at an end, and should call upon the King of Oude to subscribe a new treaty annulling all former treaties between the British Government and the State of Oude, and vesting the whole civil and military administration of his dominions in the hands of the East India Company. This proposal was discussed freely by the members of the Supreme Council, who individually made their "minutes" thereupon according as they preferred the "*suaviter*" or the "*fortiter*," their preference being generally for the latter "*in modo*" and "*in re*." Lord Dalhousie did not propose to depose the King, but to retain him in a sort of *faineant* sovereignty, in a similar position to the Rajah of Tangore (Oude Blue Book, 188, 189). But he proposed to put his *surplus revenues* at the disposal of the Company, though he admitted that to this objections might be anticipated (*id.* p. 189). Mr. Dorin was for

incorporating Oude with our Indian territories, and for divesting the King of his royal position and dignity (*id.* 192); so, also, was Mr. Grant, "with or without the King's consent," and treaty or no treaty (*id.* 219), with provisions for reducing his allowance to his successors, whom Major-General Low, with similar views as to "position and dignity," was inclined to treat more liberally as to income and possessions (*id.* 223, 224). Mr. Peacock alone appears to have desired not only to leave the King in possession of his nominal sovereignty while taking upon us the administration of his kingdom, but to spend his surplus revenues in Oude, instead of converting them to the use of the Company (*id.* 232). Mr. Peacock, however, is an eminent lawyer, with a lawyer's sense of the inconvenience of presenting to a jury of the British people a proposal for plundering the tax-payers of Oude as a consequence of our professed interest in their welfare; and very delicately but distinctly he puts this point on the very page of the Oude Blue Book to which we are now referring (232). It is remarkable, however, that neither he nor any of his colleagues set Lord Dalhousie right where he committed himself most deeply, for none of them took into consideration the treaty of 1837, or whether the same was or was not in existence. Hamlet was played, in short, with the part of Hamlet left out; or, in other words, the Council concluded and broke up without observing the most important article in their "agenda."

Independently of these minutes, Lord Dalhousie wrote a letter on July 3rd, 1855, the first in the Oude Blue Book, and which our readers should turn to, for it is in various respects a very remarkable document. He there stated the case of Oude as urgent, declared he was "ready to undertake the duty," &c. referred to his eight years' experience, and the opportunity afforded by an administration about to close, nor omitted to mention the obloquy doubtless to be incurred, with the "very heavy additional labour and responsibility" of rendering "one more service to those great interests which had been so long entrusted to his charge." In short, among the other points for comment he gave what might almost be regarded as a plain hint for a future consideration of the minor interests of Lord Dalhousie. His letter, however, with the accompanying minutes, was duly submitted to the Court of Directors; and the latter, in a despatch

dated 21st November, 1855, assented to the proposals of Lord Dalhousie, though loosely garnished, as we have described above, leaving it to his Lordship to carry out his intentions according to his own discretion. Every encouragement was given to his Lordship to proceed, and plenary powers were conferred upon him for that purpose in the concluding paragraph of the Directors' despatch (Oude Blue Book, p. 236). "Do the job," says the paragraph, which may be seen below;* "there can be no doubt you are the man for it; and we will not fetter your discretion in any way; keeps us clear of imputations, but procures us at all events, and under any circumstances, 'the INDISPENSABLE result'."

Thereupon, towards the close of 1855 orders were issued by the Governor-General in Council to assemble such a military force at "Cawnpore as, added to the troops cantoned at that station and to those already in Oude, might be sufficient to meet every emergency." In consequence, about thirteen thousand troops, in addition to those ordinarily retained there, marched into the country to overawe and subdue the very population which, on account of their representations to Colonel Sleeman, we came to liberate from a tyranny under which they groaned. Major-General Outram was instructed, "as soon as he was satisfied with the completeness of the military arrangements and the proximity of the troops, to proceed to enter into formal communication with the Court of Lucknow for the purposes mentioned in the despatch of the Honourable Court." General Outram, therefore, went distinctly commissioned to

*"It is on every account to be desired that the great measure which we have authorised should be carried into effect under the auspices of the nobleman who had so long, and with such eminent ability and success, administered the affairs of the British Empire in India; who has bestowed such attentive and earnest consideration on this particular subject; and whose acts may carry a weight of authority which might, perhaps, not in the same degree attach to the first proceedings of a new administration. Entertaining full reliance on the ability and judgment of the Marquis of Dalhousie, with the suggestions of the other members of your Government before him, *we abstain from fettering his Lordship's discretion by any further instructions;* and feel assured that, whichever mode of attaining *the indispensable result* may be resolved on, the change will be carried into effect in the manner best calculated to evert collisions of any kind, and with every proper and human consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted.

"We are, &c.,

E. MACNAGHTEN.

W. H. SYKES.

&c. &c. &c."

obtain "the indispensable result," and deported himself accordingly, as the sequel will determine.

In the meantime the Oude Government had become aware, so far back as November, 1855, by private intimations conveyed to them, that a something was in agitation, they could not learn what. Efforts were made by them to ascertain what these mysterious communications meant, but they had no Vakeel at the Governor-General's Durbar, the establishment of such a person having been forbidden by the Governor-General's published orders, while the communications from the Residency gave no explanation. Early in January, 1856, General Outram visited Calcutta, and the Oude Government, in his absence, inquired from Captain Hayes, the Assistant Resident in charge, the cause of the assembly of so large a force at Cawnpore. The Minister, it is said,* was most solemnly assured that the force was to keep in check the Nepaul Government, who were supposed to be meditating a descent towards the district of Nanpara. The asseveration was so solemnly given, that, in commemoration of no evil being intended against Oude, and to allay the popular ferment, some elephant and wild beast fights were given, at the suggestion of Captain Hayes, and at which Captain Hayes presided. These very wild beast fights were afterwards cited as a proof of the frivolity of the Oude authorities, who, on the eve of the annexation of their country, could thus recklessly employ themselves. In such wise the Oude Government and the King were blinded, until the return of General Outram from Calcutta, who at once dispensed with all further disguise, and informed the parties interested of "the *indispensable* result." On the anniversary of what has been termed a Royal Martyrdom, that is to say, on the 30th of January, 1856, General Outram requested the attendance of the Prime Minister of Oude at the Residency, where he informed him that the British Government intended to take possession of the kingdom; and, in order to prevent the chance of disturbance, had ordered a strong brigade of troops to cross the Ganges and march upon the capital. The Prime Minister, being much distressed and surprised by this intelligence, Major-General Outram proceeded to assure him that the King might rely on the favour of the British Government,

* "How to Make and how to Break a Treaty," p. 33.

to which the Minister replied, that if His Majesty's country were taken from him, there would be little occasion for such stipulation. The Minister then attempted to contrast the reign of the King with that of some of his predecessors, and to point out the manifest reforms which had been made by His Majesty; but to this the Resident replied in effect, that it was useless to discuss that, or any other question, in face of "the indispensable result." The Prime Minister, having acquainted His Majesty the King with the particulars of this interview, the King was much astonished and distressed, and, under date of the 1st February, His Majesty wrote to the Resident, pointing out that since he had ascended the throne he had never wilfully done anything to offend the British Government; that after his communication with Lord Hardinge, the whole country had been placed under new arrangements as regarded the collection of revenue and the stations of police, and pointing to his treaties with the British Government as decidedly opposed to the proposed occupation of his territory. To this communication the Resident replied on the same day, declining to discuss any of the arguments or notice any of the assertions in His Majesty's behalf, solemnly acquainting His Majesty, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, that the resolution of the Government of India had been irrevocably taken, and stating that he was precluded by his instructions from granting the King any longer delay than *three days*, which was the only term he could concede for deliberation, and which term he was not authorised to extend; after which he would call formally upon His Majesty for his assent and signature. On receipt of this communication the King determined to disarm his troops, to dismantle his guns, and to give no excuse to the East India Government for their unjustifiable act.* He also wrote a proclamation of his intentions to his subjects, and to show his peaceful and friendly

*This resolution of His Majesty was the more laudable, since it was well known to him that all the Hindoo and Mahomedan troops in his service had bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to die sword in hand in defence of their Sovereign and their country, and that the British Sepoys, who for the most part come from the Oude frontier, would, had hostilities commenced, have refused to fire a single shot upon their fathers, brothers, and other relatives. The Rajahs and Zemindars also sent His Majesty repeated assurances that if he would but authorise them so to do, they would, with a united army of 100,000 men, and with 1,000 pieces of artillery, resist the Company's attempt at annexation. These offers the King peremptorily declined, thereby causing much dissatisfaction, and incurring no small degree of odium.

desire, had supplies sent out for the troops marching on Oude. The Resident and his assistant visited the King on the third day, and found the sentries on duty with only sticks in their hands. On the 4th of February, at eight in the morning (the early Outram catches the worm), the Major-General, accompanied by two military officers, proceeded to the palace of the King, where he officially announced to His Majesty that the treaty of 1801 no longer existed, and submitted, therefore, to the King a treaty of seven articles, wherein he was called on to declare that his "infraction of the essential engagements of previous treaties had been continued and notorious," and to stipulate and agree (by article 1) that the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and military government of the territories of Oude should be henceforth vested for ever in the Honourable East India Company, together with the free and exclusive right to "the revenues thereof." The King, giving vent to his feelings in a passionate burst of grief, declared his unalterable determination to sign no such treaty, but to seek at the Throne and Parliament of England that justice which he knew he could not hope to find in India; and the Resident to this only replied, that unless within three days His Majesty acceded to the wishes of the British Government, he should forthwith assume the Government of the country.

Accordingly, on the 7th of February, 1856, Major-General Outram issued a proclamation, previously prepared at Calcutta, wherein it was declared that "the British Government assumed to itself the exclusive and permanent administration of the territories of Oude," and that the government of the territories of Oude is hereafter vested exclusively and for even in the Honourable East India Company." Having thus assumed the government of Oude, he proceeded to constitute its civil administration, in accordance with instructions previously addressed to him for his guidance by the Supreme Council at Calcutta, appointing numerous commissioners and other officers, at large, and in some cases excessive salaries, payable from the revenues of the kingdom of Oude, to administer the affairs of the country in various departments. As may fairly be presumed, to his disappointment, if not to his surprise, the officials of the Oude Government all refused to enter the service of the East India Government. The disbanded Oude army declined to enter the

regiments which were being raised. Every inducement by confronting them with armed regiments to prove their helpless position, by tempting them with payment of arrears, and with the offer of receiving young and old alike into the ranks, failed for a long period. They declared they had no arrears to claim from His Majesty; and one gallant Subhadar of one of the regiments stepped in front of his comrades, and stated he had served His Majesty and his forefathers for forty years, and would enter no other service. That active officer, Brigadier Gray, who was present on this occasion, is challenged, if he can, to deny the truth of these assertions. In virtue of the Proclamation, these gallant men, by their conduct on this occasion, might be accounted rebels; but in spite of the risks they encountered, they thus manifested their devotion to the regime of their slandered rulers and princes.

His Majesty the King of Oude having determined to repair to England, to lay his case before the Throne and Parliament, applied to the Resident for his sanction; but that functionary, not respecting the misfortunes even of a King, treated His Majesty's application in an imperious manner, and endeavoured to deter and prevent him from accomplishing his wishes. In order still more pointedly to mark his discourtesy, the Resident, on frivolous pretexts, held to bail His Majesty's Prime Minister, Syed Allie Nuque Khan, a nobleman of royal descent from the family of Delhi, and of distinguished rank, who, from the commencement to the end of his political career, has uniformly proved himself a sincere and steadfast adherent of the British Government, and who has received the commendation of the British authorities. At the same time other high and distinguished officials were held to bail, and placed under surveillance at Lucknow by the British authorities. The records, public acts, official documents, and other papers, of importance to His Majesty to enable him to establish his claim for the restoration of his kingdom, were seized by the Resident and his officials. The Prime Minister, as we stated, was obliged to give security, and to the effect that he would not depart from Lucknow. The same plan was followed with the Minister of Finance, Rajah Balkishen, and also with the Keeper of the Government Records, Baboo Poorun Chum; and the King was thus deprived of the services of these officers, and of their testimony,

so indispensable to the maintenance of his rights in this country. An attempt was even made to prevent the King's own departure, by the arrest of twenty-two of his personal attendants, and by the seizure of his carriage horses; but he came away with others, and his family have now preceded him to England, to seek redress for this spoliation at the hands of the English Parliament.

That no claim might be wanting in this behalf, since the confiscation of the Oude territory, the royal palaces, parks, gardens, menageries, plate, jewellery, household furniture, stores, wardrobes, carriages, rarities, and articles of *vertu*, together with the royal museum and library, containing 200,000 volumes of rare books and manuscripts of immense value, have been sequestered. The King's most valuable stud of Arabian, Persian, and English horses, his fighting, hunting, riding, and baggage elephants, his camels, dogs, and cattle have all been sold by public auction, at nominal prices. His Majesty's armoury, including the most rare and beautiful worked arms of every description, has also been seized, and its contents disposed of by sale and otherwise. The Queen Mother, to whom General Outram descended *to offer a bribe*,* to induce her to persuade the King to sign the treaty, has also reason to declare that the Ladies of the Royal Household have been treated in a harsh and unfeeling manner; that, despite their protest, and a most humble petition which they sent to the Political Commissioner, they were, on the 23rd of August, 1856, forcibly ejected from the Royal Palace of Chuttar Munzul by officers who neither respected their persons nor their property, and who threw their effects into the street; and that a sum of money which had been specially left by the King to be appropriated for their maintenance was prevented by the British authorities from being so applied. Such is the last item in the general spoil, and such the position in which these Princes and Royal Ladies, heirs to a century of British amity and protection, are condemned to appear as suppliants before the British people. Such is the "*indispensable* result" of the "firm friendship and sincere union"

* "His Lordship in Council will have gathered from the translation of the conference which I held with the Queen Mother, that I promised that lady an annual stipend of one lakh of rupees, provided that the King would accept the treaty."—*Oude Blue Book*, p. 291; *and see* pp. 285-6.

into which their ancestors were cozened or compelled, and such is the completion of the robbery of their race,—that consummation which we term "Dacoitee in Excelsis," and which we charge upon the East India Company and the Marquis of Dalhousie.

Chapter IX

THE CHARGES IN THE OUDE BLUE BOOK, AND THEIR SEPARATE AND SUFFICIENT ANSWERS

THE Marquis of Dalhousie's plea is contained in the Oude Blue Book, and we have referred to it already here and there; but it is now intended to consider it more closely and directly. Apart from the history we have just given of these later transactions, the Blue Book is an indictment against the King of Oude's Government, and is composed of all the imputations, past or present, vague or minute, real or rumoured, or even absolutely false, which the Company could collect by ransacking its archives or by stimulating the zeal of its officials to seek for elsewhere. Its statements are the answers to incessant inquiries prompted by a Government most powerful in respect of patronage, most rigorous in enforcing its policy, and in requiring devotion from its instruments, and whose wishes among the subject races it controls, and whose inventive powers exceed their veracity, are as influential and cogent as the fiat of Omnipotence. With such authority and such machinery as they are possessed of, it would be surprising, indeed, if the Company could not make out a *prima facie* case against any occupants of the Indian Peninsula from Bombay to Calcutta, or from Oude to Cape Comorin.

Let us consider, also, independently of official subordination, and of the eagerness to accomplish the wishes of so exigent a master, how wide are the interests invariably enlisted by any proposed annexation of a new territory. The popularity of such a measure, and the reasons which would be forthcoming to support and urge it on may be best understood by a reference to the field of patronage which it opens. The amplitude of this

field, with its exuberant pastures, is partly indicated in the Oude Blue Book itself, where on pp. 257-8 Lord Dalhousie is directing the arrangements of General Outram.

"2. The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to appoint you to be Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oude, and agent to the Governor-General, I am directed to communicate to you the functions, powers, and responsibilities, which he proposes to vest in your high and honourable office, and to add some general remarks on the principles and practices which are to be followed in conducting the government of that province.

"3. In subordination to you, will be a *Judicial and a Financial Commissioner, Commissioners of Divisions, Deputy-Commissioners, Assistant-Commissioners, and Extra Assistants;* and the administration, it has been resolved, shall be conducted, as nearly as possible, in accordance with the system which the experience of nearly seven years has proved to have been eminently successful in the provinces beyond the Sutlej.

"4. As Chief Commissioner, you will retain the salary and allowances which have hitherto appertained to the office of Resident at Lucknow. A salary of 3,500 *rupees per mensem* will be assigned to the Judicial and Financial Commissioners; and Commissioners of Divisions will receive 2,750 *rupees per mensem* each. There will be three grades of Deputy-Commissioners, with salaries varying from 1,500, to 1,000 rupees, and as many grades of Assistant-Commissioners, to whom will be assigned salaries from 700 to 500 rupees. And, in accordance with general instructions from the Honourable Court of Directors, the Extra Assistants will also be divided into three classes, to which different salaries will be attached in proportions to be determined hereafter, as soon as the number of those officers to be employed shall have been finally settled. In the first instance, the eighteen Extra Assistants, whom it is intended to employ, will be divided into three classes, as follows:

"1st class, salary 600 rupees per mensem	.. 3
"2nd class, salary 400 rupees per mensem	.. 9
"3rd class, salary 250 rupees per mensem	.. 9

"This title of Extra Assistants is that which has been introduced in other provinces under the direct administration of the Government of India, and is considered preferable to that of

Deputy-Collectors (which is the designation still used in the North-Western Provinces), inasmuch as they will be vested with judicial, fiscal, and magisterial powers. They will consist of uncovenanted servants, of every class and religion, and the Governor-General in Council will be glad to receive your nomination of officers for these appointments."

"5. It is impossible, at present, with the number, and the limits, of districts unknown and undefined, to determine the numerical strength of the Commission; but the Governor-General in Council, adverting to the known area, and the supposed revenue, of the province, as compared with those of the districts ceded to the British Government in 1801, and now forming part of the North-Western Provinces, is inclined to think that *four* Commissioners of Divisions, *twelve* Deputy Commissioners of Districts, *eighteen* Assistant-Commissioners, and *eighteen* Extra Assistants, will suffice *in the first instance*. Besides these"—but there is no occasion to pursue the quotation further. Sufficient is shown or suggested by these few paragraphs, to warrant the conclusion that, if annexation was contemplated, the Company, in getting up a case for the purpose, might reasonably rely on the interests, as well as the submissiveness of its dependents to secure it, at least, from an over rigorous obstructiveness.

The wonder is, that in this instance, where so much was at stake, and where its wishes were so manifest, its case was not stronger; for, notwithstanding the substance of this case at a cursory glance, its slightness is evident on the briefest examination. In the first place, how large a portion of its allegations is stated without name, or place, or date, or any circumstance which can distinguish them from the most unfounded rumours. In the "Record of Crimes committed in Oude" and which extends for upwards of some thirty pages (from p. 108 to 143), the first entry is "Jan. 1, 1848—*Two murders committed in the country;*" and the last is "Dec. 29, 1854 — *Some thieves entered the town of Mughrata, and wounded one of the watchmen.*" The reader may take it on our assertion, or, if not, on his own examination, that there are plenty of such entries between these extreme limits; and if they were all veracious, the question remains, what would be the effect of comparing them with our metropolitan police-sheet, or with the criminal records

of any European or Oriental district of similar area or equal population?

The scantiness of criminatory materials in this tolerably thick volume is shown by another circumstance. Any crime or alleged crime which is sufficiently salient, is made to do duty several times over. It is produced in the Reports of the Orrs and Sleemans, reproduced in the Despatch of General Outram, and finally re-appears in the Minute of Lord Dalhousie. The case of the banker, Ramdut Pandey, of which we have already given the opposite version, is thus exhibited and re-exhibited in several places—on pp. 29, 92, 165, and 173. So of Rugber Singh, the equally disputed assertions are produced and reproduced with equal assiduity. The managers of this impeachment deal with their allegations as the managers of a theatre, of which the resources are scanty, deal with their little army of supernumeraries. The same individual personages are passed over the stage again and again, and the result is to swell an imaginary total, and to heighten to the general eye the effect of the performance.

Moreover, there are discrepancies and direct contradictions in their evidence, to some of which attention will be invited presently. The best way, however, to consider the effect of this evidence—for to examine each item here is impossible—is to take it in the order detailed by General Outram, in his report to Lord Dalhousie, and of which the first head is

I. The Sovereign and his Minister

Thus, the Sovereign of Oude, on the testimony of former Residents, is represented as a wretched creature, wholly given up to the society of singers and eunuchs, and indifferent to the ruin occasioned by his recklessness. "Eunuchs and singers" is the cry of Colonel Sleeman, repeated at intervals in letters and reports. "Eunuchs and singers" is echoed by General Outram, on Sleeman's testimony, and is re-echoed by Lord Dalhousie; and thus they prolong their ejaculations in concert. We might almost infer from their accordant outcry that eunuchs and singers were a novelty in the East, whereas we imagined that Oriental courts were indispensably familiar with the presence of both. Neither Baber nor Ackbar were free from such company, nor any other Eastern potentate of whom we ever heard. Where jealousy guards the harem, the society of eunuchs is inevitable. As for the

singers, they will be accounted for presently, since the most private amusements of an Eastern prince must be justified to the English public, to warrant his retention of his kingdom. Lest, however, it should be thought that the Sovereign in this instance exclusively confined himself to such companions, and declined all other society or occupation, we shall cite certain proofs, as well as averments, to the contrary.

In the first place, we turn to his own reply to the charges against him and find on page 32 the names of the nobles attending his court, and of whom he asserts, "these are men of learning, of noble family, whose ancestors have always held high office under mine and the Delhi Government. These nobles are always in attendance upon me; hence no credit can be placed upon the Resident's remark, that, with the exception of Wuzier no respectable person visits me." Next, we summon Lord Dalhousie, who, while he charges the King with neglecting his royal duties, nevertheless makes an admission by no means consistent with the accusation in question. "After the picture," says he, "which I have given of the administration of affairs in Oude, it is my duty to state that, since the days of Vizier Alee, none of the sovereigns have, either from disposition or habit, been cruel or tyrannical; they have been all *gentlemen*, humane and generous;" and we can scarcely imagine that his Lordship would allow that a man could be a gentleman and exclusively confine himself to the lowest of company. Then we have the more distinct admissions of Major-General Low, one of his Lordship's fellow-councillors, with the implications which arise from his explicit acknowledgments of the courtesy, integrity, and zeal of the King and of his predecessors in the performance of their obligations towards their British allies. His admissions have other and wider bearings, but they may well be cited as applicable here. From page 225 of the Oude Blue Book we extract his remarkable testimony as follows:—

"So much has been published in newspapers respecting real and alleged misrule in Oude, during the last thirty years, with no one to write on the opposite side, or explain misstatements, and it is, moreover, so frequent a habit on the part of many of my countrymen who have never sojourned in native states, to lay the blame of all acts of violence that occur in those states on the individual native Ruler at the head of it, that it has occasionally happened, to my positive knowledge, that the Kings of

Oude have been spoken of in English society as merciless tyrants over their own subjects, and as men who had no feeling of gratitude for the protection, or the forbearance, of the British Government.

"Now, that sort of language is *positively untrue, as regards every one of* THE LAST FIVE KINGS; they have sadly mismanaged their own affairs, I admit; and I also admit fully that it has become quite necessary to deprive them of all political power; but their general conduct towards us, both as useful public allies of our Government, and as *individual Princes conducting business in a regular, attentive, courteous, and friendly manner without public functionaries,* has been unusually meritorious and praiseworthy; and we have gained so many solid advantages from that conduct on the part of those Kings, that, in my opinion, the present King (if he shall sign the treaty we propose to him), and his heirs and successors after him, are well entitled to most liberal treatment in a pecuniary point of view, after we shall have deprived them of the power, and dignity, and freedom, and wealth, which heretofore have belonged to their position as Sovereigns of Oude.

"It is not only that the Kings of Oude have never been hostile to us in their proceedings, and never intrigued against us in any way; they have abstained from every kind of communication with other native Potentates, except openly, and through the medium of the British Resident; and, during our wars against our enemies, they have constantly proved to be *really active* and *most useful* allies to us; they have, again and again, forwarded large supplies of grain and cattle, &c. to our armies, with an alacrity that could not be exceeded by our own British Chiefs of Provinces; and, during our war against the Nepalese and Burmese, the King of Oude lent us very large sums of money—no less than *three crores* of rupees—when we were extremely in want of it, and could not procure it elsewhere; and, even so late as 1842, the grandfather of the present King supplied us with fourteen lakhs of rupees, and his son (the father of the present King) supplied us with thirty-two lakhs of rupees, which were of very great use indeed to Lord Ellenborough's Government, in enabling him to pu h on and equip General Polock's army, to retrieve our disasters in Afghanistan. With reference to this last mentioned fact, I beg to attach to this note a paper, marked B, containing some extracts from the Lucknow records, which will show the tone of mind, and

the spirit, in which that aid was given to the British Government by the Ruler of Oude.

"Having alluded above to supplies of cattle, as being one of the modes in which the Rulers of Oude have been useful to us, I may as well here mention the fact that, during the Nepal war, the then King of Oude lent to us, free of all cost, nearly 300 elephants. The aid thus obtained for conveying our artillery and ammunition and tents, &c., in our mountain warfare, was of immense value to us, and of a kind which it was totally out of our power to obtain in any other manner, or from any other quarter.

"I can also state it to be a fact that, in all those measures depending upon a native Prince which relate *exclusively* to the interest of the paramount state, such as searching for and giving up criminals who have escaped into Oude from our provinces, supplying our troops when marching through Oude, protecting our Daks, &c. &c. &c., the Government of Oude has always been, and is up to this day, unusually attentive and efficient. I can further truly remark that the Kings of Oude have co-operated most actively and efficiently with us in capturing thugs and dacoits; and, in regard to the settlement of petty frontier disputes about lands, which occasionally happen from the changes in the beds of rivers and nullahs, and from other causes, the Oude Durbar acted, during my incumbency at Lucknow (and I conclude it is the same to this day), with a degree of alacrity, and a leaning to our wishes, such as I never saw before, or since, in any other native state, in any other part of India. In short, the grand errors of the Oude Kings have been their sad mismanagement of their own interior affairs, and their culpable neglect of our advice in regard to those interior concerns. In regard to their external relations with us, their conduct has been remarkably irreproachable.

"Since the above was written, I have read again an extract which I made, for my own satisfaction, some weeks ago from the Minute of the most noble the Governor-General, dated the 18th of June last, and I think I cannot do better than to close this note by copying that extract entire. I need scarcely add that I most fully concur in the opinions therein recorded by his Lordship, viz., 'The Rulers of Oude, however unfaithful they may have been to the trust confided to them, however grievous their misgovernment of the people committed to their charge, have yet

ever been faithful and true in their adherence to the British power: no wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge. They have all along acknowledged our power, have submitted without a murmur to our supremacy, and have aided us, as they best could, in the hour of our utmost need."

"J. Low."

To return, however, more strictly to the personal life of the King, it appears, however, that there is this to be said, that in common with his ancestors he possesses cultivated tastes, if not of the most practical, at least of a kind to be visited rather with praise than reprehension. According to M. M. Musseehood-deen he "received a liberal Eastern education, is well versed in ancient and modern history and literature, and, besides being the author of several Persian and Oordoo poems of considerable merit, has written many useful and popular works which are to be found in most of the public libraries of Europe." In a lecture of M. Garcin de Tassy, member of the French Institute, and Professor of Hindostani at the Ecole Imperiale, and which lecture was delivered at the opening of his course in December last, this distinguished scholar thus spoke of these literary productions of His Majesty:—"Je n'ai pas a apprecier ici cette resolution toute politique, non plus que les qualites ou les defauts de Wajid Ali, comme Souverian; mais je m'interesse a lui *comme litterateur distingue et comme poete hindostani eminent;*" and the professor goes on to mention his works and those of his ancestors of whom he has spoken on previous occasions. We need hardly inform our readers that such poetical productions are recited in the East by persons employed for the purpose, like the bards and ministrels of our own middle ages; and if this will not explain the presence "of *eunuchs*, it may perhaps account for the association with SINGERS."*

*That if the assertions respecting the Royal *entourage* were true, the East India Company is not at liberty to urge them against him, is proved by a very remarkable statement of the Honourable Frederick John Shore, who shows to what a pressure the King has been subjected by the Company's agents in this very behalf. Mr. Shore's statement is as follows:—

"In minor points, who does not recollect the member of our Civil Service, who, after having been dismissed for malpractices, with a positive order against his future employment, was sent to Lucknow, with a recommendation from the Governor-General to the King, which the latter considered in the light of a command, to give him an official post? Who does not remember the same influence exerted to procure employment, or, in plain English, a pension, for an English singer and his wife, from the unfortunate King of Lucknow? *I have*

The fact is, that this unfortunate gentleman has been the object of constant espionage; his private amusements have been watched and reported, and he has lived as it were in a cage of clear glass open to the constant inspection of inquisitive Residents. The opportunity of satisfying the curiosity of these gentlemen, whether interested or otherwise, has existed from an early date. Bishop Heber found that "everything which occurs in the family of the King himself, the Resident, the chief officers of state, or any stranger of rank who may arrive, is carefully noted and sent round in writing. And I was told (says he) that the exact hour at which I rose, the sort of breakfast I ate, the visits I paid or received, and the manner in which I passed my morning, would all be retailed by the King's Chobdars for the information of their master, *whose own most indifferent actions are, however, with equal fairness, written down for Mr. Ricketts' inspection.*" If the Sovereigns of Europe, or if humbler individuals, were subjected to this scrutiny of Rickettses and their Chobdars, it is not impossible, it is more than probable, that their vacant hours might afford a variety of details as frivolous as those which the compilers of the Oude Blue Book have not been ashamed to present to the British Parliament. It would be fortunate, perhaps, if they were as harmless as most of these are:—"March 17. This morning the King received the obeisance of his eunuchs and courtiers, and amused himself with some pigeons." * * "March 22. Kulloo, the King's head sweeper, and 200 of his followers embraced Islamism, with the consent of His Majesty, and visited the shrine of Abbas with great pomp." * * * "March 30. Last evening the King" (not aware, we presume, of the warrant he had in the European ballet) "passed his time in witnessing the performance of dancing girls; and this morning received the obeisance of his

myself seen the influence of the Resident at Lucknow exerted to induce the King to buy a French toy at a most exorbitant price. The Resident himself exhibited the toy, and recommended the purchase; and when we consider the complete thraldom in which the Government of Oude was then held by the Resident, if this be not direct influence, I know not what is. The same authority has been exerted to induce the King to entertain English coachmen, gardeners, musicians, and all sorts of people whom he had no wish to employ. *It is probable that the convenience which has in this way resulted to men in authority—not even excluding the head of the Government—has been one cause that Oude has so long been suffered to remain an independent kingdom.*"[a]

[a] Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Honourable Frederick John Shore, of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service, Vol. ii. pp. 83-84.

courtiers as usual" (in fact held a levee after an opera night). * * * "May 11. Last evening the King amused himself with letting off some fire works" (we presume without the excuse of Crimean campaigning). "This morning he made a present of shawls and kerchiefs to Mosahib Allee, fiddler, and an African female." * * "May 23. Six persons have been employed to catch cats for the King; *and so on*," adds the writer, "*in every page of the Diary*," from which we infer that the cats of Lucknow, like the cats of London, disturbed the rest of the inhabitants, and that the King, for the tranquillity of his capital, was determined to suppress the nuisance. At the same time, what frivolous trumpery is this to store up for the public, and to produce in a Blue Book, to increase thereby, we may aptly add, the little annual printing bills of the House of Commons. If the King did keep pigeons and dancing girls, and kill the tabbies of Lucknow, what right have we even to reproach him on this account? *A fortiori*, what excuse is it for seizing on his kingdom?

The King, beyond a doubt, might have employed his time better; but by whose fault was it that he was prevented from so doing? We have already suggested an answer to this question, in mentioning the proposals sanctioned by Mr. Thomason, and the King's efforts to reorganise his army. We do not think His Majesty makes the most of these circumstances; but we think it advisable that he should tell his own story. We quote from His Majesty's Reply to the charges, p. 24:—

"In the paragraph 15 of his report, dated 15th March, 1855, Major-General Outram writes, 'In fact, I do not think that His Majesty will ever be brought to feel the responsibility of sovereignty strongly enough to be induced to bear that portion of the burden of its duties which must necessarily devolve upon him.' He says also in another part of this same paragraph: 'During former reigns, the Kings always held a Durbar once a week, and often more frequently. At this, all his relations and native gentlemen in the city, had an opportunity of paying their respects to their Sovereign, and speaking to him. This custom was continued for the first three or four months of the present reign, when it was discontinued.' There are two ways of transacting business; one, the holding of public Durbars frequently, and the other the giving up of the whole of one's attention to all public affairs. The first is indeed most inconvenient

to one who wishes to ascertain the internal working of the affairs of the Kingdom; as intercourse with relations breaks in upon that time which might be more profitably devoted to the amelioration of the condition of the subjects, whose interest should be a paramount consideration with the Ruling Power. The fact is, that after ascending the throne, it appeared fit to me to examine and understand all public affairs, to correct what appeared to require revision, and, after upholding what required confirmation, to establish a proper system of administration, in order that business should be properly transacted. It is evident I did not assume the charge of a new kingdom which required new modelling, but which had an established system which only required to be put in force. I therefore applied myself from the very commencement to test the manner in which justice was administered. I had boxes for the reception of complaints and petitions placed in the public streets; and on referring to those petitions, I found that our long established Courts of Justice were unimpeachable, and that justice was administered to the rich and the poor in conformity to the precepts of Mahomedan law; no case in which injustice could be established, having been brought to light. It also appeared that the judges were men of ability, acquainted with the Mahomedan law, and of upright character. Hence I unhesitatingly affirmed things as they were. *Subsequently I intended to have reorganised the army*, and in fact re-instated several officers who had served my predecessors, and who had been removed; and I also purposed to have inspected the entire forces in person, and made some arrangements regarding them, but the *Resident Colonel Richmond, and Colonel Sleeman, complained and spoke to me about it.* Considering that even if I recognised a small body of troops, the English Government would be displeased, and suspicion might arise, and relying upon the friendship of the Honourable East India Company, on whom rested the entire responsibility for preserving the kingdom from domestic and foreign foes, I at once abandoned this project, and devoted my attention to public affairs. It had all along been my intention, and Lord Hardinge had also advised me, to resort to *amani* or trust management, and in a short time nine-tenths of the country had been brought under trust management, and as yet not given in *ijara* or under contract: Thannahs

were at the same time to have been established in different localities; a list of which is appended to this chapter. The estates, the *jumma* whereof had been accurately ascertained, were let out under leases of five and seven years, and a general order was issued, that those who choose may come forward and take lands under the Huzur Tahsil system. Again, as it was rumoured that certain Collectors were in the habit of forcibly seizing the estates of poor landowners, and recording them in their own names, it was ordered that no sale or purchase of villages should take place without notice to the Government and the receipt of the Government Sanad, which would be granted after issue of proclamation, and disposal of and objections of the proprietor: for instance, copies of proclamations issued agreeably to the above tenor were transmitted to the Resident for the information of British subjects. Save and except the above matters, were there new points in which I could have striven more? In short, no public matter was ever carried out without my sanction and consideration. It has never happened that I have been unable to afford satisfactory answers to the information solicited from me by the different Residents, in respect of the habits of my Collectors or other public matters—which it was morally impossible to have afforded, without having studied those matters. I was not the only one who held smaller number of levees or Durbars; for formerly the Residents up to the time of Mr. Maddock, used to hold Durbars once a week, wherein all claimants and British subjects used to present themselves, and state their grievances. It is now about twenty years since that practice has ceased. I never declined holding an interview with any one, but invariably admitted those who desired it."

His Majesty overlooks the proposals for assimilating the system of governments in certain of his provinces to that of the Company, and the rebuff he met with when those proposals were made. In short, he has a fuller justification than he uses. And at all events he has this admitted defence—that with all his failings he was true to his British Allies; that his disabilities, whether attributable to his fault or theirs, never affected or endangered their interests in the slightest; that he preserved for them at his own cost a peaceable frontier; and that he scrupulously fulfilled all his obligations towards them, and something more than a fair measure

even of these* up to the date when we repaid him by seizing his kingdom and made him an outcast from the throne of his ancestors.

The next head of General Outram's, or rather we should say, remembering the facts, of Colonel Sleeman's impeachment, comprises the

II. Revenue and Finance

Of Oude, which is alleged to be generally mismanaged, and to have lapsed into ruin and confusion. It is impossible, on this head, either to state the charges in detail or the replies which have been made to them, to the satisfaction of our readers. Such considerations require too special a knowledge of Indian affairs, and involve too great a complexity of accounts to permit of their being dealt with in a popular statement. It is possible only in the most cursory manner to refer to these charges in their general bearing, and to the contradictory evidence which is conceived to support them.

In the first place, their sum and substance is entirely disputed, and there is a direct contradiction on the issue of fact. Have the revenues of Oude declined sensibly in recent years? Colonel Outram, referring to the receipts of 1853 and 1854, acknowledges that he has no official data to guide him, that he relies upon Colonel Sleeman, and that with this support, he can only come to

*On this subject we will again quote M. M. Musseehood-deen:—"Whatever endeavours may have been made, from base and interested motives, to prejudice His Majesty in the eyes of his subjects and of the world, his detractors never, except in the case of Colonel Sleeman, ventured to impugn his strict fidelity as an ally. During the insurrection of the Punjab in 1848-49, when the Company's political horizon looked most threatening—when Moolraj resisted, for one year, all the efforts of the English—when the disastrous defeat of Ghailean Wallah had shaken the faith of almost every ally—when rebels and state prisoners, effecting their escape, sword in hand joined the ranks of the disaffected—when rumours were rife that the powerful aid to be afforded by Persia and Gabool would crush and annihilate the English—his present Majesty, during that truly critical and eventful period, stood firm as a rock in his friendship for, and alliance with, the British Government, and was ready to assist them, at a minute's notice, with his treasures and his troops. During the recent hostilities with Burmah, His Majesty applied to the Governor-General in Council to be allowed to send either an auxiliary army to take part in the campaign, or to render any other assistance which might be of service to the Company. In the late Russian war also, similar offers were repeatedly made by His Majesty to the local Government: while, that he might prove himself as anxious to promote the arts of peace, as to support by arms the cause of his ally, His Majesty caused to be forwarded to the Great Exhibition of 1851, the rarest specimens of Indian art and ingenuity, and for which His Majesty received the thanks of the British Nation conveyed to him through the Governor-General of India."

the conclusion that he is "pretty accurate" in estimating their decline as very considerable.* On the other hand, the King's Reply asserts, in its preface, that the Revenue is the same as it was fifty five years ago. M. M. Musseehood-deen maintains that it can be proved by the revenue statistics in His Majesty's archives, that, from the period when His Majesty ascended the throne, up to the date of the annexation, the amount of revenue realised was never less than one crore of rupees, or £1,000,000 sterling, per annum. The contrary statements of the Residents are accounted for in this wise. From motives of convenience, the King's troops have been frequently paid (in recent years) by orders issued by His Majesty upon the Collectors and Governors, under whom the troops happened respectively to be placed; and these officials, therefore, instead of remitting to the treasury the gross moneys collected, would send only the balance which remained after payment of the said orders, which orders they forwarded at the same time as vouchers. The Residents, it is said, have omitted to carry the amount so paid to the troops to the credit of the revenue; by which means, on the one hand, they have been able to calculate its supposed decrease, while, on the other, they have been able to suggest the imputation that the army of Oude was maintained by the plunder of the Zemindars and landholders.

On the other hand, if a decrease of revenue occurred in certain districts, or in special instances, it is thus accounted for:—Colonel Sleeman's interference was the real cause of the mischief. In the first place, he dispossessed, or was the means of dispossessing, without sufficient investigation,† many of the old-established

*"Though I have no official data to guide me, and the more trustworthy sources from which Colonel Sleeman formerly derived his information, have so long been closed, I believe the following details of the present state of the finances of Oude to be pretty accurate."—OUTRAM.

†That these dismissals were made by order of the Resident, without due investigation or inquiry, is proved by the following letter.

LETTER from H. M. the KING of OUDE to the RESIDENT, dated the 4th Rabbee ooj sance, 1270 (Hegira):—

"I have received your letter, together with the copy of the petition of Shiv Durshun Singh, Talooquadar, complaining of the oppressions and exactions of Khan Allie Khan, Collector of Salone, who, in accordance with your wishes, has been dismissed, and Saheb Raie appointed in his stead. The latter has received the strictest injunctions to perform his duties honestly and impartially, and to secure an equitable land tax. You will therefore be good enough to apprise the Complainant Durshun of the above circumstance, and direct him to proceed thither to adjust his accounts, and to pay in his revenue regularly in future."

Aumils or collectors, and he replaced them by persons particularly inexperienced. He thus displaced Raja Incha Singh, Aumil of Gounda Behraitch, by means of a letter, dated 28th Rumzan, 1259, Hegira (October 21, 1843); Uhmud Allie Tehseeldar, of Russoolabad, and Shivdeen Singh, collector, by means of a letter, dated 29th Rubbeeoolawal, 1262, Hegira (March 25, 1845); Khan Allie Khan, Aumil or collector, of Salone, 1269, Hegira (1852-3); the Tehseeldar, or revenue collector of Sikunderpore, district of Russoolabad, by means of a letter, dated 28th Rumzan, 1269, Hegira (July 4, 1852); and in consequence of these proceedings on the part of Colonel Sleeman, the land-tax was by no means so productive as it had been under the Aumils or collectors he thus superseded. *In the second place*, Colonel Sleeman, by a similar abuse of his position, caused several of the great Talookdars or opulent landholders to be ejected,* and thereby caused a further deficiency in the revenue. And *lastly*, Colonel Sleeman caused considerable mischief by his forcible and abrupt substitution of the Amanee (or trust system of management) for that of the Ijara (contract or farming system) which previously prevailed. Experiments of this sort had been made from time to time, at the instigation of successive Residents, but it is admitted in the report quoted in Lord Dalhousie's Minute (Oude Blue Book, P. 171), that the consequences had been, invariably, failure and disappointment:—

" 'Several experiments have been made of converting the contract into the Amanee system over extensive districts of Oude, but the result has been always the same—a falling off in the revenue, and disappointment to the Government and the people. These experiments have been made at the earnest representation

*This will sufficiently appear from the following letter.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from H. M. the KING of OUDE to the RESIDENT, dated the 16th September, 1850:—

"I have to remind you, that in 1256, Fuzlee (1849-50), Doorgraj, Talooquadar of Toolseepoore, became a defaulter to the Government for nearly 1,000 rupees; that his son, Saheb-jee, liquidated the debt, and the Talooqua or district was then intrusted to him; and that after the lapse of a few months, Saheb-jee was, in accordance with your instructions, removed from the charge of the district, which was again placed under Doorgraj. Now, having been thus put again in possession of the Illaqua (district), he is again behindhand in his remittances, notwithstanding the capabilities of the country, and his having already realised the revenue in full. As the lease of one year has expired, and he is a defaulter to the amount of 41,126 rupees 11 annas, I beg leave to ask your advice as to what steps must be taken by my officers to recover the balance due from him, as I shall abide strictly by your instructions."

of the British Government and Representative. Under Ghazee-ood-Deen, while Colonel Baillie was Resident, the contract system was converted into Amanee all over Oude, but, in two years, the attempt was given up in despair, and the whole country was again let out to contractors. Under Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder, while Hakem Mehudee was Minister, and Mr. Maddock and Colonel Low Residents, a similar attempt was made, on an extensive scale, but with the same result. In less than two years, all that was Amanee was given to contractors. Under Mohummud Allie Shah, the experiment was again made on an extensive scale, while Colonel Low and Colonel Caulfeild were Residents. The Minister, Shurf-ood-Dowlah, to gratify them, made districts yielding an annual revenue of thirty-five lakhs of rupees Amanee, and did all in his power to make the system work well. In two years he was superseded, but his successor, Ameen-ood-Dowlah did all he could to sustain the system. He was soon removed, and, under his successor, the system soon became nominal, and then gave place openly to the old one of contract."

"After so many failures, nothing but the strongest conviction, resulting from half a century's experience of the injurious effect of the prevalent contract system, could have induced the Government of India again to advise a recurrence to the Amanee experiment."

Nevertheless, the experiment again disappointed its authors, though apparently they contradict each other as to its effects. General Outram and Colonel Sleeman's testimonies are here at variance, though neither can say that the experiment was successful. Major Troup, again, in a letter of December 27, 1854, says that the district of which Durshan Singh was a collector, returned a revenue of some five to nine lakhs per annum *less* under the Amanee system than it did previously. Captain Bunbury, on the other hand, in a letter of January 1, 1855, is "credibly informed" that it (the revenue) has *in no way decreased* since the time of Durshun Singh, above referred to. Thus these doctors disagree, while the patient suffers accordingly, and, as the perplexed Sovereign complains, in his Reply, p. 26, "it appears, that in order to cast censure upon me, Major-General Outram's assistants are provided with two kinds of answers; should I approve of the Amanee, they praise the Ijara settlement, and, should I speak well of the Ijara, they praise the Amanee management." Thus, the

King was bewildered; thus his revenues were tampered with, and, if they were dilapidated, the fault was not his own; the loss was his clearly, but the fault or the mistake, if such there was really, was that of the Residents.

It is substantially maintained, however, in p. 35 of the King's Reply, that notwithstanding this interference with the financial system of Oude, the buoyant resources of the country were by no means affected to the degree which these "pretty accurate" financiers pretended. Thus it is asserted that the balance sheet of Oude did not exhibit the arrears of debt represented by General Outram. As to comparison with the British portion of Oude, the increased revenue derived from the latter, is obtained from two sources most worthy of observation. The Company have resumed allowances to Zemindars and Camingos and the rent-free tenures or Jaghires, which were considered inalienable; and they have also brought into cultivation waste lands which did not exist in the King's portion of Oude. In effect, the King is very well pleased and in no sense whatever disparaged or discomforted, by comparing with the Company under such very different circumstances.*

*Before concluding this portion of the subject, we must quote from M. M. Musseehood-deen some reflections on General Outram's pretensions as a financial critic.

"How incompetent Colonel Outram was to frame the report in question, and therefore how little credit is due to it, will be evident from the gross error into which he has fallen when treating of the present head, that of 'Revenue and Finance.' 'The territorial revenues of Oude,' according to him, 'are derived from four sources. 1. The Khalsa, or Crown Estates. 2. Huzoor Tehseel, wherein the landholders pay direct to Government. 3. Districts comprising the estates of Talooquadars and Zemindars, the revenues of which are held in Ijara, or under contract. 4. Districts similarly composed, held under Amanee or trust management.' Here, it will be seen, the Colonel separates the Khalsa from the Huzoor Tehseel, Ijara, and Amanee, not being aware that the three last are all Khalsa: the meaning of the word 'Khalsa' being, as is known to even the most illiterate Indian, *belonging to the Crown*, and that the term consequently comprehends all the divisions alluded to. The words Huzoor Tehseel signify, that a special officer is appointed by the Crown to realise that portion of the revenue which is not under the control of any local officer. Colonel Outram's mistake originated in his being ignorant that throughout the whole of India, as well as in Oude, when a man is the proprietor of one or two villages, he is called a Zemindar; when of any number from ten to twenty, he is denominated a Talooquadar, and that these lands are all Khalsa, their revenues being paid to Government.

"Colonel Outram was led into this glaring error by too implicitly following his favourite authority, Captain Orr, who, in his letter dated January 5, 1855, states, 'not many years ago, there were hundreds, nay, thousands of villages not belonging to Talooquadars, but directly under the Crown, called the Khalsa villages.' Now, it is clear from what has been said, that whether they belonged

III. Judicial Courts and Police;

And on this subject, General Outram is neither lengthy nor conclusive. After a few broad assertions, he refers to Colonel Sleeman for the corroborative proof that the judicial establishment of Oude is inadequate, and that its proceedings are corrupt, inefficient, and shameless. A few cases are cited of the Ramdut Panday description (Ramdut Panday himself being first on the

to Talooquadars or not, they were still Khalsa, their revenues being paid into the Government treasury, the only exceptions being such which were granted as jageers, or as freehold and charitable gifts.

"Colonel Outram has been led into another mistake by a too implicit reliance upon the statements of Captain Orr, who, in his letter of the 5th of January, 1855, represents that another cause of defalcation in the revenue is to be found in the circumstance, that 'not many years ago, there were hundreds, nay thousands of villages not belonging to Talooquadars, but directly under the Crown, called the Khalsa villages. For several years, the Chuckledars, in consideration of large bribes, have been in the habit of making these villages over to Talooquadars, without sufficiently increasing the Jumma of former Puttahs.'

"Now it is a constant and well-known practice in India, and particularly in the Company's provinces, that when a Zemindar fails in making the due return of the revenue, the amount is realised by the sale of the villages, and thus it not unfrequently occurs that, in some cases, from ten to a hundred are made over to one opulent and responsible person called a Talooquadar, thus saving all the delay, trouble, and expense resulting from the employment of numerous collectors.

"Colonel Outram, entirely ignorant of this custom, and misled by Captain Orr, considers it as a matter of complaint, 'that in one district alone the State has been deprived of its proprietary rights, or direct control over some 625 out of 650 villages;' but from what has been said above, it is clear that the only effect of this measure was the very advantageous one of reducing the number of shuhnahs or pedeahs (collectors) from 500 to 25, whereby, as before observed, the revenue was collected with greater facility and at less cost. Very frequently the Talooquadars would, of their own accord, punctually remit the revenue when due; but when this was not so, nothing more was necessary than to send a duly authorised person to receive the amount. Should the Talooquadars resist the authority of the King's collector, which was sometimes, but not often, the case, troops were of course sent to enforce obedience.

"As to the charge of bribery which Captain Orr brings against the Chuckledars, it must be received with that caution which is always necessary when assertions are made unsupported by proofs.

"Colonel Outram, in his report, eulogises the Huzoor Tehseel system: 'The Huzoor Tehseel system,' he says, 'under which the Zemindars pay their revenue to the King, without the intervention of local agents, has always proved more successful and popular in Oude than any other mode of management. When a Zemindar has been lucky enough to transfer his property from the superintendence of the local authorities to the 'Huzoor Tehseel,' he pays a certain amount of revenue, and no more, into the 'treasury;' but, as if anxious to qualify this commendation, he adds, 'though a few bribes may possibly be given amongst the "Omlah." ' Now, allowing the truth of this charge, the 'Huzoor Tehseel' mode of collection is in great favour with other Residents, nor is bribery carried on under it so unblushingly as in the cutcheries of the East India Company's officers, as would be proved were a strict investigation made into the matter."

list), on the incidents of which the Oude authorities are prepared to maintain the propriety of their judgements or conclusions. Four or five of such cases *in all* are mentioned; and the value of some of these has been indicated already, as a foundation for the very sweeping inference (by the way of Colonel Sleeman's), that the Courts of Oude "are of no value." On the other hand there is an extensive admission of more importance to British readers, as it concerns British interests, and which shows that if the Courts of Oude were not equal to the Queen's Bench, their police was, at all events, successful in protecting the British frontier. According to General Outram—

"The Oude frontier police was originally established in January, 1845, to the extent of 500 sepoys and 100 horsemen, which force was subsequently augmented by his present Majesty to the total strength of 750 sepoys and 150 horsemen, at a cost of rupees 77,062 per annum. The object with which this force was raised, was for the seizure of refugee British criminals, for whom application should be made by neighbouring magistrates and officers of the Thuggee department, and for the capture of Oude criminals on requisitions made by the Durbar through the Resident; and it has been most efficient and successful in the performance of those duties, as frequently represented both by Colonel Richmond and Colonel Sleeman: the latter officer thus reported of this body on the 14th of March, 1849:—

" 'The frontier police is very efficient, and of great importance. Border crimes were, I believe, never more rare than they are at present in the conterminous (British) districts of Jounpore, Azimgurh, and Goruckpore; the magistrates of which districts express themselves highly satisfied with the successful exertions of Captain Orr, Captain Holling's Second Assistant, who commands this police on the eastern border. Hardly any criminal who commits a crime in either of these districts, and seeks refuge in Oude, escapes his vigilance. Captain Hearsey, the First Assistant who commands the frontier police on the western border, adjoining Shajehanpore, has also exerted himself successfully; but the difficulty experienced in securing criminals in that quarter is greater.' "

Even Colonel Sleeman, as General Outram goes on to observe, assigns "some meed of credit" to the King's Government on this account, and, amid his ceaseless and captious objections, bears a further testimony, in 1852, to the success of the King's efforts for the security of his own territories. "*The roads in Oude,*" says he, "*have been much more secure than they were when I took charge of my office in January, 1849*; and in this the Durbar certainly

attended to my wishes, and adopted many of my suggestions for the benefit of the people;" so far, therefore, was the Colonel from realising the augury conveyed to him by Lord Dalhousie, that there could be "no amendment whatever." Colonel Sleeman also admitted that the Oude Government had been willing to co-operate with him in arranging boundary disputes, perhaps the most fruitful of all the causes of bloodshed in India. In short, if we may so conclude from its scanty decisions and conflicting purport, the Government do not seek to press this portion of their indictment.

If they did, it is not unreasonable to add they must come into court with cleaner hands than they are able to exhibit. The disclosures impending on the Petition of the Missionaries of Bengal, and which were so recently a subject of discussion in the House of Commons, are pertinent in this regard, and should not be forgotten.

"The administration of justice," says Mr. M. Lewin, "is nowhere alleged to be worse in Oude than it is shown by Mr. Haliday, the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, in his recent minute, to be within our own districts, and it would not be possible, in the most barbarous country in the world, to discover anything more atrocious as a system than is laid open in the recent Report of the Commissioners appointed by order of Parliament to inquire into the practice of torture in the territories of Madras. Mr. Haliday shows that in our own districts of Bengal, the administration of justice is a mere farce and delusion. He says,—'The village police are in a permanent state of starvation; they are all thieves and robbers of necessity, or leagued with thieves and robbers, insomuch that, when anyone is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first one suspected will be the village watchman;' in another place he remarks,—'Our criminal judicature does not command the confidence of the people,—the administration of justice is considered little better than a lottery.' The Madras Commissioners show that the police and robbers of the country make common cause, that neither life nor property are secure, that torture is part of the system of Government, known and acknowledged as a necessary engine in revenue and police operations, and as regular and habitual in the public service as any other part of its duties."*

This subject was brought before the House of Lords on February 19th, by the Marquis of Clanricarde, in a speech, from which the following is an extract:—

*Pamphlet on Oude, by Malcolm Lewin, Esq., late Second Judge of the Sudder Court of Madras.

"A new code of laws had been promised for India, but as yet no such code had been introduced, and meanwhile the administration of justice remained in a state of confusion and uncertainty that was positively disgraceful. Could it be believed that in India there was a large body of her Majesty's subjects who had no legal protection whatever for their property? The rights of property, as respected the natives, were in a state of utter confusion, and had been so ever since we took possession of the country. In these remarks he expected, of course, the Supreme Courts of the presidencies, which were administered by persons trained to the exercise of the law, and by whom justice was dispensed with as much care as in this country. But their Lordships would be enabled to judge of the gross partiality with which the law was put in force in India, when he stated, that if an Englishman murdered or inflicted serious injury upon a native, no matter in what part of the country, the relatives of the deceased native, or the native himself, should he not be killed outright, would obtain no redress without going to the Supreme Court of the presidency. The consequence was, that if an Englishman murdered a native in the Punjab, 1,500 miles from Calcutta, or made a murderous assault upon a man there, no redress could be obtained unless the witnesses were taken the whole distance of 1,500 miles to Calcutta to be examined. But if a native committed any crime, he could be brought at once before a court of judicature on the spot, the magistrate presiding in which was, in almost every instance, utterly unfit for the discharge of the duties intrusted to him. The character of these magistrates was such, that the whole of the European community were rising up against the idea of being placed under the same code as the natives—not that they objected to this in itself, or thought the natives ought to be treated hardly, but because the character of the magistrates who were to be intrusted with the execution of the new code was such that they could not submit to their jurisdiction.

"The criminal courts of the East India Company have been the dread and terror of the people, are used as instruments of revenge and persecution, convictions in them are regarded as evidence quite as much of misfortune as guilt, and the public have no confidence in them. It is in the character not of a privilege that the British inhabitants so tanaciously cling to the exemption from these jurisdictions, in cases in which not mere fines are involved, but the life, or liberty for long terms, or character and social existence of the accused, is concerned. The British inhabitants only desire justice and fair trials, and they claim these in the Supreme Court because there only can justice and a fair trial be had.

"In order to satisfy their Lordships of the condition of India, and of the unsatisfactory manner in which the present machinery

of Government worked, he would refer them to a witness whose evidence was above suspicion—Mr. Haliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. That gentleman thus described the condition of the Bengalese:—

" 'For a long series of years complaints have been handed down, from administration to administration, regarding the badness of the Mofussil police under the Government of Bengal, and as yet very little has been done to improve it. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money. It is a lamentable but unquestionable fact, that the rural police, its position, character, and stability as a public institution, have, in the lower provinces, deteriorated during the last twenty years. The criminal judicatories certainly do not command the confidence of the people. Whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which, however, the best chances are with the criminal; and this is also very much the opinion of the European Mofussil community.' "

"It had been stated by members of the mercantile community in India, that, in consequence of the loose manner in which law was administered, it took twenty or thirty years to realise the profit which might be easily made in five or six years, if law and order were properly maintained. A planter in India said:—

" 'In consequence of this want of law in the country, the planters suffer immense losses. In short, so far from the Company having aided the planters by its government, it has done nothing but increase the facility of their ruin; and they would have created a hundred times more commerce in India, had they not been hampered by the existing system. They now run enormous risks, and make in twenty to thirty years as much profit as they would make in five years with perfect ease if there were any law or order in the country, such as is found in every other civilised country. From want of it their loss of capital each year is at a rate which would not be credited in England. I myself have lost, during the past year, £2,500 in debts which have been accumulating for three years, from the impossibility of obtaining redress in the Company's Courts. I never dreamt for a moment of seeking my remedy in the law courts; that would have only increased my loss.' "*

Debates on the same subject have been subsequently renewed in both Houses of Parliament, and have attracted no little attention to statements for which, as above mentioned, there is the

*Speech of the Marquis of Clanricarde in the House of Lords, on Thursday, February 19, 1857.

authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Christian missionaries of every denomination, who have referred to these statements in a petition which was recently the subject of debate, on the motion of Mr. Kinnaird, proceed to observe that they attach great weight to these remarkable and important declarations, extracted by them from the local Governor's minute; and then go on to add some more home truths of their own. They say that the poor despair of obtaining redress, even against the greatest wrong that may be inflicted on them; and that they have reason to believe that a spirit of sullen discontent prevails even now among the rural population, from an impression that Government is indifferent to their sufferings. That they feel themselves bound to declare that they view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of evils which they have so long deplored, and the effects of which are seen in the demoralisation and the sufferings of the people; and that they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer, as, from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred is being engendered in their minds. Finally, the memorialists pray that a commission may be appointed, consisting of men of independent minds, unbiased by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all that now affects the condition of the population.

Such are the representations (and they might be easily extended) which are to be read side by side with the charges made against the judicial and police establishments of Oude. It is possible that hereafter we may discover that the Santhal rebellion and the recent mutiny of our Bengal army may not have been entirely uninfluenced by the circumstances of oppression and discontent therein referred to. But so little are the European officers of the Company's Civil Service aware themselves of what is going on around them, that, until very lately, they were entirely ignorant of the horrible and disgraceful fact, that torture was frequently had recourse to in the collection of the revenue. As we learn more, then, the conclusion may become clearer, that, in respect of judicial and police establishments, the King of Oude has better reason to reflect on the Company than the Company to complain of the King of Oude. At all events, they

have made very little of their case against him under this head.

The next head of General Outram's indictment is

IV.—The Oude Army,

With respect to which he commences by stating that he can find no reliable data on which to form an estimate of its present strength and cost, and proceeds to add that he himself has had no opportunity of inspecting any portion of it (Oude Blue Book, p. 32, pars. 67, 68). Nevertheless, on the testimony of Captain Hayes, he characterises it as "rapacious, licentious, and disorganised;" and to this summary representation, appends a few, and a very few, particulars from the reports of Captains Orr and Bunbury, which simply go to show that when quartered in country districts it is not superior to the average of armies, whether Indian or European. Its discipline is vaguely impugned; its pay in some cases is said to be in arrears; and it is said to plunder the ryots in marching through the country; of which it is probable that the explanation is mainly that it is frequently paid in the manner described under the head of "Revenue and Finance," out of resources in the hands of the district collectors. The King, in pp. 40 and 41 of his "Reply," denies in effect that it is rapacious in any other sense; he asserts, that it is strictly prohibited from taking anything from the ryots forcibly and without payment, and that it stands to reason that, being composed entirely of inhabitants of Oude, they would not forage on their own property or that of their relatives and kinsmen. Be the facts as they may, a conclusive answer to the charge of disorganisation, if disorganisation exists, is furnished by the conduct of Colonels Richmond and Sleeman, to which we have already had occasion to advert. When the King, on ascending the throne, endeavoured to re-organise this army, they both of them complained and discouraged his project, intimating to him, very intelligibly, that it would be distasteful to the Company. Thus this charge of General Outram, whether true or false, is disposed of; while, on the other hand, another illustration is afforded, that in reproaching the Oude Government with the consequences of our own requirements and proceedings, we are doing that which is grossly unfair, but which is simply consistent with the whole of this history.

The next head is

V.—Roads and Public Works,

Under which the principal charge is this—that "no roads have been opened *since* Colonel Sleeman reported in 1849; and that to Cawnpore still remains the only metalled and bridged road in Oude." This road, however, was made at the requirement of the East India Company, at a cost of £35,000 to the King; and, if it is the only large public work *of this particular class* for which credit can be claimed in recent times, again it appears that the onus of the deficiency lies at the door of the East India Company. The Company were eager enough to require a road for the passage of their troops up to Lucknow; but when the King proposed to make a road across his dominions from Fyzabad, and to provide a direct transit for a now circuitous traffic, and by means of which the people of Oude would have benefited concurrently with the increase of facilities for our Indian commerce, the Company not only declined all assistance, but refused to allow this road to be made. Yet in General Outram's report it is made a reproach, that the road is dilapidated between Fyzabad and Lucknow, while the buildings and improvements at Lucknow itself, which are faintly admitted, are condemned as too costly. Some other omissions under this head are mentioned by M. M. Musseehood-deen, and on his authority we give the following statement, coupled with a comparison disparaging to the Company:—

"In his observations upon this head, Colonel Outram has again acted very disingenuously by having carefully avoided giving any account of the public buildings, high-roads, and other works which have been undertaken from time to time by the King and his ancestors, as well as of the pecuniary losses sustained by His Majesty, in consequence of the unauthorised interference of the Resident. This omission shall be supplied by a few instances. In every village a serai or resting-place for travellers has been erected at the King's private expense, and an efficient body of police stationed within it for the protection of travellers. Not only are such buildings as are within the East India Company's provinces suffered to fall into a state of dilapidation, but all the old serais built by the ancient Mahomedan Kings are nearly in ruins, and only serve as a harbour for thieves or a lair for wild animals.

"The unfortunate traveller, therefore, if poor, is compelled to content himself with the friendly shelter afforded by a tree;

while the wealthy one finds, in his tent, a protection against the inclemency of the elements, but no defence against the murderous attacks of banditti.

"Even in Calcutta, the seat of government, not a serai is to be found, the only accommodation for travellers being hotels; the consequence of which is, that hundreds of poor wayfarers who either cannot afford to pay for such accommodation, or whose religious prejudices forbid them to put up at an hotel kept by a Christian, are compelled to pass the night in the open air without shelter of any kind.

"Upwards of 100,000 wells have been dug within their dominions by the past and present Sovereigns of Oude.

"In the reign of his late Majesty, an iron bridge was thrown across the river Gometee, the materials for which were sent for from England, at a cost of several millions sterling. This bridge, which was free from all toll or tax, was erected for the sole benefit and convenience of His Majesty's subjects and the public at large.

"It having been determined to make a public from Cawnpore to Lucknow, a European was appointed as director or manager, at the recommendation of the Resident. After a very short time, having embezzled more than a lakh of rupees, he absconded, nor was the least endeavour made by the Resident to apprehened and bring him to justice. The fact of the embezzlement is entirely suppressed in Colonel Sleeman's report, and he most unfairly turns the whole affair to the disadvantage of His Majesty.

"The King, for the purpose of encouraging commerce, benefiting agriculture, and fertilising the country in general, had ordered a canal to be dug, which should unite the river Ganges with the Gometee. Nearly fifty miles of the entire length had already been dug at a cost of several lakhs of rupees, when the Resident interfered and stopped the continuation of the work, by stating that the whole of the territory would become the property of the East India Company, from the mere fact of the Ganges flowing through it.

"Surely it was the duty of the Resident to have represented this circumstance previously to the commencement of the work, and thus have prevented such an enormous outlay of money to no purpose. That the Resident did not do so, can only be accounted for, by the presumption that his objects were, by crippling the King's pecuniary resources, to have him more completely in his power, and to stop the improvement of the country.

"With respect to the Company's public works within their own dominions, they consist prnicipally of public roads and Dak Bungalows; the former for facilitating the march of troops, the latter for accelerating the Post delivery, as well as for the accommodation of the wealthy traveller. As for their native subjects, the only expense they have gone to on their account is

for the erection of prisons, the numbers of which are a melancholy proof of the *beneficial* effects of the Company's rule and administration."

The next head is

VI.—Statistics of Crime and Outrage,

On which some remarks have been already made in the introductory part of this chapter, and to which we may now add that these statistics, on the face of them, are loosely compiled and obtained, for the most part, from untrustworthy sources,—that they purport to contain a series of guesses, and are made, therefore, an excuse for suspicions, for which the only clear warrant is the bias of Colonel Sleeman; that they are founded not only on insufficient testimony, but that the testimony which is produced contains such discrepancies, that it is impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion concerning it.

As to the discrepancies, for example, in the better class of evidence,—with regard to the increase of crime, Major Troup (p. 57) states that in the district of Sultanpore "crime has increased." Captain Bunbury (p. 58) states, of the *same district*, that "as to crime and atrocity, which used to be so rampant in Oude, such has been greatly checked;" while Captain Patrick and Captain Alexander Orr, speaking generally, regard the state of crime as neither increasing nor decreasing. Mr. Edmonstone, in Futtehpore, on the frontier, cannot decide whether there has been an increase or decrease of crime; Mr. Le Bas, in Juanpore, thinks dacoitee has decreased, and that "on the whole there has been a very decided improvement within the last few years;" Mr. Chester, of Goruckpore, shows statistically that frontier crime is *on the decrease;* Mr. Spankie considers the state of criminal society permanent. Again, there are similar discrepancies with regard to the character of an individual. A person, named Agaie Alee Khan, being Nazim of Sultanpore, had received letters of recommendation from a former Resident at Lucknow, Colonel Sleeman. Colonel Outram (p. 24) states that "Major Troup, Captain Bunbury, and Captain Patrick Orr, all concur in reflecting on the conduct" of this man, and their statements against him are very strong, and accuse him of all sorts of oppression, crime, and harbouring criminals. Captain Alexander Orr, on p. 66, goes further, for he says that Colonel

Sleeman was deceived in Agaie's character, so also were Mr. Tucker and Mr. Lowther, both English Commissioners, but who gave him letters of recommendation. Captain Bunbury also admits the favour which Agaie Alee has found with Mr. Tucker. But Mr. Le Bas, the English magistrate on the frontier, speaks of this very man as the Nazim of Sultanpore, "who *has always shown power and willingness to assist me in every way.* Wherever anything has occurred, the Nazim has always been ready to do what I have asked, and *has never shown any disposition to screen or encourage offenders.*" Such are some of the discrepancies with which the better portion of this testimony abounds. The rest appears to have been obtained from rumours less reliable even than the "diaries," or the newswriters' reports, which General Outram himself concurs with Colonel Sleeman (p. 35) in representing as utterly untrustworthy as a source of information.

Let these data, however, be accepted as correct, and, nevertheless, they redound to the credit of the Oude Government, on a fair comparison with the territories of the Company. General Outram, indeed, points to the Punjab, to a district lately pacified and kept in awe by a considerable force, and institutes a comparison to the result which is wished for. But the obvious answer is:—Let Oude be compared with the settled territories of the Company, with those which are under its civil regime, and are normally governed, and the case of Oude is greatly advantaged by the comparison. The average of crimes in Oude, with a population of five millions, from 1848 to 1854 inclusive, is (p. 36), as respects crimes against the person, estimated at less than 1,600, and, as respects serious crimes against property, such as are termed dacoitees, at less than 200. On the other hand, it is stated in the King's reply, that in Allahabad, which is equal to about one-fifth part of Oude, there were 1,452 crimes committed in 1855, while in Benares, in the same year, there were 8,004, or more than four times the number in a territory only one-sixth of the extent. In Bengal, the most anciently settled territory of the Company, as recent parliamentary discussions may have led the public to infer, the ratio of crimes is equally to the discredit of the Company. In 1850, there were 96,352 persons accused, of whom 55,252 were found guilty and punished; in 1851, there were 94,953; in 1852, 92,115, and in 1853, 92,629, proving that the average number is thus upwards of 90,000 in a

population only eight times that of Oude. If therefore, there is the slightest reliance to be placed upon these figures, if they are substantially or even generally correct, they may be left to tell their own story, for there can be no doubt whatever as to their bearings.

The next and last head of General Outram's impeachment is

VII.—OPPRESSION AND CRUELTIES, &c.,

And it is filled with bugaboo stories, some true and some false, sustaining, however, the feeble conclusion that, "it is impossible to form a decided opinion as to whether the oppression under which the subjects of Oude now suffer is greater or less in degree than what they were subjected to in the early part of the present King's reign." Nearly three pages out of seven devoted to this head are occupied with the alleged atrocities of Raghubar Singh, who figures in Lord Dalhousie's reiteration of this report, in only less lengthy and formidable proportions. On his case we will quote the King's statement (Reply, p. 14); and having quoted, let the Company answer it.

"In 1847 some person reported to Colonel Richmond, Resident of Lucknow, that Raghubar Singh, Tahsildar of Baraitch, had seized and sold into slavery 500 men and women, inhabitants of that place. The Resident, without naming his informant, communicated the matter to the Oude Court; the records of the newspaper writers were searched, and every inquiry made, but no trace of such an occurrence was discovered. The Court authorities waited a few days, thinking that the friends or relatives of the people reported to have been sold would come themselves, or send some one by the Resident, to glean full particulars of the outrage complained of, in order that a regular investigation might be made; no one came, and when Raghubar Singh, the accused, was questioned, he represented that selling and buying people was prohibited both in the Company's territories, and in those of Oude, and that such a number of persons could not have been sold secretly, as such a thing could not be hid; also that a purchaser of so many persons, among whom numbers must have been old and infirm, and many of them children, was not likely to be found either in the Oude territories, or in those of the Company bordering on Oude. He therefore prayed that strict inquiries should be made as to when and in what place these persons had been sold, and to what part of the country the buyers belonged, that they should be able to purchase, and pay for so many persons at once, and also as to where the relatives of the persons sold were, and of what profession. Now,

since it was contrary to the law of Muhammad, and regulation of the country, to inflict punishment on any one on mere reports unsupported by proof, *we did not punish him;* but being anxious to meet the wishes of the Resident as far as possible, and as Colonel Richmond had on many occasions shown his disapproval of Raghubar Singh's mode of transacting business, and although, by Raghubar Singh's dismissal, I risked the loss of many lakhs of rupees that he was in arrears, I, discarding all thought of that, instantly *dismissed him.* I would here call especial attention to the fact, that in this case there were only two courses to pursue towards my servant, one, that in case anything had been proved against him to punish him, and the other that the accusation not being proved, although doubts against the defendant might be raised by evil reports from reliable sources, and he therefore be unfit for further service; in this latter case, I should not be justified in doing more than discharging him, as any greater punishment would be unjust and tyrannical; thus considering that I was doing all that could be expected from me, I dismissed him from my service; no partiality was shown, but capital or other punishment, in default of proof, could not be inflicted. I trust that I shall be held excused. It is very strange that if there were so many charges established in Colonel Richmond's opinion against Raghubar Singh, that he did not have him arrested, either at Lucknow or in the Company's territories, when any person who had anything to complain of might have come forward; moreover he never received any reprimand from the Magistrate, but *remained living in luxury and pomp, within the territories of the East India Company,* and any orders expressive of my displeasure towards him, that I sent, were made to appear by the British authorities as if they had been mere calls for arrears of revenue."

Into the other cases we decline to enter, for their details will lengthen out this already long story, while their explanation will be found in the chapter of the King's Reply from which we have taken the story of Raghubar Singh. Moreover, they are liable to the common answer that they prove too much, for, if true, Oude must have been depopulated, its peasantry would have disappeared, and its fertile lands must have changed into a desert; while, if the very reverse of these incidents followed, the untruth of these allegations of wholesale oppression may, on the other hand, be fairly concluded.

In short, to make one answer to the whole of General Outram's Report, it is utterly irreconcilable with the fact that the population of Oude, so long as they were under the regime of their native princes, showed no inclination to emigrate into the

territories of the Company. The compilers of the Impeachment could not get over this fact, and they regarded it on all sides, and turned it upside down, and weighted it, and sifted and shook it, and strained it, and looked at it with their heads learnedly on one side, like Pundits employed upon an insoluble problem. Or, to use a loose simile for such dignified personages, they resemble to many monkeys occupied with a large cocoanut, which they are unable to open and unwilling to abandon. "It may naturally be supposed," says General Outram (Oude Blue Book, p. 44), "that the people of Oude, if so greatly oppressed as has been represented, would emigrate to the neighbouring British districts, which it does not appear, from the replies I have yet received from the magistrates whom I questioned on the subject, that they do to any great extent." Lord Dalhousie, when it comes to his turn, echoes this perplexity, and relies on General Outram, while General Outram relies on Major Troup (thus the world rests on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise), for what they proffer as a sort of explanation. Major Troup argues that owing to the protection extended to the relatives of the Oude sepoys employed by the Company, one-tenth of the population are privileged and are contented to remain in Oude; but the Major may be routed by a single question, How does this affect the other nine-tenths who are unprivileged? The latter, as we infer, are the parties upon whom these alleged atrocities are practised, and who are without redress;—how, then, are they induced to bear them by seeing others in an infinitely better predicament than themselves? Major Troup does not extricate his patrons by his logic, and he must cut his own way out of this dilemma as he can. Either the inhabitants of Oude remain there because they are privileged, or, if they are not privileged, they remain there because they are not oppressed. There is some talk elsewhere (p. 221), of the attraction of the tombs of their forefathers. But these, according to the King's Reply (p. 57), are, at all events, insufficient to retain them in Oude now. The stream of emigration, it is said, *now* flows out of Oude, into the Company's provinces; whereas formerly it rather tended from the Company's provinces, into Oude. Let this fact be reconciled with the Oude Blue Book, or let this volume be regarded as so much waste paper, covered with the unproved theorems of the Outrams and Dalhousies.

Chapter X

SHOWING THE BEARINGS OF THE TREATY OF 1837.

It remains to be shown that the measures which Lord Dalhousie took in pursuance of these false representations, were in direct violation of subsisting treaties, and especially of that of 1837; and for this purpose it will only be necessary to introduce the learned opinion of Dr. Travers Twiss, which we shall quote at length as the substance of this chapter.

The "Parliamentary Return of Treaties," of 1853, appends the following statement to the treaty of 1837:—"The Home Government disapproved of that part of the above treaty which imposed on the Oude State the expense of the auxiliary force; and on the 8th of July, 1839, the King was informed that he was relieved from the cost of maintaining the auxiliary force, which the British Government had taken upon itself." That this exactly stated the extent to which *certain provisions* of the treaty were practically annulled, while the residue of the treaty remained practically as well as legally operative, is proved by the letters which we cite in the Appendix, and which passed between Lord Auckland and the King of Oude on that occasion. The treaty was regarded by them as still subsisting in its other provisions, and has been so regarded since by all who have dealt with it authoritatively. Thus, when Lord Hardinge wrote the remonstrance, in 1847 (which we also give at length in the Appendix), to the King of Oude, upon the existing state of his kingdom, he based our threatened interference on existing provisions of the treaty of 1837. Again, in 1851, even Colonel Sleeman in his report upon the existing state of Oude, dated the 10th of December, advocates the propriety of the English Government's exercise

of the powers which *the treaty of 1837* confers upon it, of taking upon itself the administration (of Oude) and conducting it by means of its own officers." In 1858 the Return above-mentioned was made by the East India Company to an Order of the House of Lords for copies of the treaties and engagements between the East India Company and the native powers in Asia. *In this return is included the treaty of 1837.* There is a sort of preface to this Blue Book, signed by Mr. Edwards, then Under-Secretary at the India House, in which he states that the treaties therein contained, and the historical notices to them prefixed, had been compiled almost exclusively from the records of the foreign department. Mr. Edwards also refers to Mr. Mickie, the deputy-registrar of the foreign department, as having been of material assistance to him in the compilation, from "his intimate acquaintance with the relations of Government with native States." After this series of authoritative recognitions of the treaty of 1837, it is startling indeed to learn that Lord Dalhousie, finding this treaty an obstacle to final annexation, declares it to be simply "null and void," and kicks it out of his path with the most presumptous indifference.*

This extraordinary and remarkable proceeding on the part of his Lordship, is based upon grounds, the insufficiency of which are disposed of by Dr. Travers Twiss, and which are stated summarily by Lord Dalhousie in the following language:—"6. The instrument by which the mutual relations of the British Government and the Court of Lucknow are now defined and regulated is the treaty of 1801. A very general impression prevails that a subsequent readjustment of those relations was made by the

*It is observable, that in pursuance of this view, Lord Dalhousie has mis-stated or half stated a fact. In his secretary's letter of instructions to General Outram, dated Fort William, Nov. 21, 1855, and quoted in p. 149 of the Oude Blue Book, this officer is required to apply himself, on his arrival at Lucknow, to an inquiry into the present state of that country, "with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman from time to time described them to be; whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded seven years ago at the hands of the King, *in pursuance of the treaty of 1801*, has in any degree been effected; and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that treaty, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, will, in truth, any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the state of Oude has suffered so long." Observe also his Lordship's ambiguous expressions in the Oude Blue Book, pp. 147 and 166.

treaty concluded by Lord Auckland in 1837. But that treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Honourable Court of Directors as soon as they received it. On the 10th April, 1838, the Secret Committee conveyed to the Governor-General in Council their directions for the abrogation of the treaty of September, 1837, and they subsequently restricted their instructions regarding the disallowance of the treaty of the 18th September, 1837, and the restriction of our relations with the State of Oude, to the footing on which they previously stood. The Honourable Committee added—You will receive every support from us in the measures that may be necessary in securing good government to the people of Oude, under the stipulation of the treaty of 1801.

"Wherefore it is to the treaty of 1801 we must exclusively look."

In their Petition to the House of Commons, the King and Royal Family of Oude very naturally deny and repudiate this extraordinary doctrine. They have the warrant of the opinion to be cited directly, that, according to the law of nations, the treaty is in full and complete force, and is operative and binding upon the British nation, and it has always been considered operative and binding upon the Sovereign and people of Oude; and they are further advised and instructed that any attempt by either of the high contracting parties to set aside the treaty on the ground alleged by Lord Dalhousie would be opposed to international law and usage. They submit that "after a lapse of eighteen years, during the whole of which period every English official and every Sovereign of Oude have alike regarded the said treaty as existing and valid, it is not now to be set up, that in consequence of some secret correspondence which passed in 1838, and which never saw the light of day until 1856, a treaty solemnly guaranteed, ratified, and acted on, is to be deemed and taken to be non-existent, and to have been null and void from the time of its conclusion:" and they finally and solemnly submit to the House of Commons, that "treaties are the title-deeds of nations, and that their equitable observance is the only security for the peace and the prosperity of the countries to which they may relate, for the stability of thrones, and the proper government of peoples."

To this protest we have nothing to add but the opinion we have referred to, and which deserves the most attentive perusal. With this opinion we shall conclude the present chapter.

OPINION OF DR. TRAVERS TWISS

I have perused the papers submitted to me on behalf of His Majesty the King of Oude, viz:—

1. The treaties concluded between the East India Company and the rulers of Oude from 1765 to 1837, published in the collection of East India Treaties, laid before the House of Lords, 24th June, 1853.
2. The correspondence and minutes of the Government of India amongst the "papers relating to Oude," presented to the Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1856.
3. The notification from the Right Honourable the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India, to His Majesty the King of Oude, 8th July, 1839, on the subject of the recent treaty under date 11th September, 1837, and His Majesty's reply thereto sent with the case.
4. The remonstrance on the part of the Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge, delivered to the King of Oude, 23rd November, 1847, sent with the case.
5. The letter of the Honourable Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, 10th December, 1856, relative to the assumption of the Government of Oude, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5th February, 1857.

My attentions has, in the first place, been directed to the treaties of 1798, 1801, and 1837 (Blue Book, pp. 71, 75, 92) in conjunction with the letters of Lord Auckland and Lord Hardinge, which bear upon the treaties of 1801 and 1837, as these are the treaties upon which the questions between the East India Company and the King of Oude turn.

It appears that the earliest treaties before 1798 were treaties of equal alliance, but the three later treaties of 1798, 1801, 1837, are treaties of unequal alliance. They form a continuous chain of political relations between the East Indian Government and the Sovereigns of Oude, being linked on to one another. Each, however, has a distinct political character of its own; the treaty of 1798 being a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance on both sides, and of joint correspondence, as far as the foreign relations of Oude with other States are concerned. That of 1801 being a treaty of territorial cession, on the part of Oude, and of territorial guarantee on the part of the East India Company, whilst the treaty of 1837 is a treaty of protection on the part of the East India Company, and of administrative submission on the part of the King of Oude. All these treateis, however, agree in securing

to the East India Company a direct consideration for its military aid, either in the form of an annual subsidy or of a permanent cession of territory in lieu of subsidy. Thus, Sir John Shore's treaty, in 1798, secured to the East India Company a subsidy of seventy-six lacs of rupees; and by articles 12 and 13, the Nabob undertook to consult with the Company's government on the best means of reducing the expenses of his own public establishments, as well as to communicate to the Company all correspondence between himself and any foreign power.

By Lord Wellesley's treaty of 1801, the King of Oude ceded *certain portions of territory* to the East India Company in perpetuity in lieu of a subsidy, and the Company in return, not merely undertook, by article 3, to defend his remaining territories against all foreign and domestic enemies, but, by the sixth article, *guaranteed* to the Vizier, and his heirs and successors, the possession of *his remaining territories;* and the Vizier engaged that he would establish in them such a system of administration, *to be carried into effect by his own officers*, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, and that he would always advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company.

Lord Auckland's treaty of 1837, on the other hand, commenced with a preamble, reciting, amongst other things, that "article 6 of the treaty of 1801 required that the Sovereign of Oude should establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, *to be carried into effect by his own officers*, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation; and the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty, on the part of the rulers of Oude, has been continued and notorious; and it is, therefore, just and proper that the defect alluded to in article 6 of the treaty of 1801 should be rectified." It provided accordingly, by article 7, in express modification of article 6 of the treaty of 1801, "that the King of Oude shall immediately take into consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the defects in the Police and in the Judicial and Revenue administrations of his dominions; and that if His Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, and if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the *right of appointing its own officers* to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule shall have occurred, for so long a period as it may

deem necessary, the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's territory, and a true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipts and expenditure."

By article 8, it further provides "that in case the Governor-General of India, in Council, should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by article 7 of this treaty, he will endeavour, as far as possible, to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the Sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive."

This treaty purports to be concluded in the name and on behalf of the Governor-General of India, by Lieutenant-Colonel Low, the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow. It has the signatures of Lord Auckland and three Members of the Council in the usual form. It appears, further, that subsequently to its ratification by the Governor-General, in Council, it has been formally referred to as a subsisting treaty in two separate communications from the Governors-General of India to the King of Oude, in the years 1839 and 1847 respectively. The first of these occasions was when the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, addressed a notification (July 8th, 1839) to the King of Oude, informing His Majesty that he had been authorised to relieve the kingdom and territories of Oude from that burthen, relative to the terms contained in the *fourth article of the new treaty* in regard to the establishment of a military force.

The second occasion was, when Lord Hardinge, on his passage through the territory of Oude, had a personal interview with the King, and delivered to him a formal remonstrance, dated 23rd November, 1847.

Lord Hardinge, in this paper, calls His Majesty's attention to the treaties of 1801 and 1837. By the sixth article of the former, he says "it was provided that the English Government should protect the rights of the inhabitants; and by *article 7 of the treaty of 1837*, that the British Government, if necessary, should take into its hands the administration of the Oude territory; and that this latter treaty was in confirmation of the treaty of 1801, and gives power to the British Government to interfere when it is necessary, for the protection of the people."

A similar view as to the subsistency of the treaty of 1837 seems to have been taken by Colonel Sleeman, the Resident at the Court of Lucknow, in his communication to the Governor-General, in Council (December 10th, 1851), which is referred to in Lord Dalhousie's minute (Oude Papers, p. 166). Colonel Sleeman states on that occasion that, in his opinion, "our Government cannot

any longer forbear to exercise to the fullest extent the powers which *the treaty of 1837* confers upon it, of taking upon itself the administration, and conducting it by means of its own officers."

Upon these documents, if they stood alone, I should have no hesitation in saying that the treaty of 1837 is a subsisting treaty, and is binding on the respective parties to it, and that under that treaty the Governor-General of India would be authorised, by the law of Nations, under the state of circumstances contemplated by article 7, to take into his own hands the management of the territories of the King of Oude, as *Curator*, in behalf of the King, his heirs, and successors.

It appears, however, from the minute of Lord Dalhousie, of June 18th, 1855 (Oude Papers, p. 149), that the Governor-General of India considered the treaty of 1837 not to be binding on the British Government, as may be gathered from this passage: "the instrument by which the mutual relations of the British Government and of the Court of Lucknow are now defined and regulated, is *the treaty of 1801*. A very general impression prevails that a subsequent readjustment of those relations was made by *the treaty concluded by Lord Auckland in 1837*; but the treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Honourable Court of Directors as soon as they received it. On the 10th April, 1838, the Secret Committee conveyed to the Governor-General, in Council, their 'directions for the abrogation of the treaty' of September, 1837, and they subsequently reiterated their instructions regarding the disallowance of the treaty of 18th September, 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood." The Honourable Committee added, "You will receive every support from us in the measures that may be necessary in securing good government to the people of Oude, under the stipulations of the treaty of 1801.

It is, no doubt, a rule approved by the practice of Nations, that the acts of public ministers in concluding treaties are, unless under special agreement to the contrary, subject to the ratification of the Government whom the ministers represent, and that if the ratification is refused by the competent authority on one side, and the refusal notified to the other side, the act of the minister who concluded the treaty becomes null and void. It is also an implied condition in negotiations between States, that the treaties concluded by the Executive Government shall be subject to ratification in the manner prescribed by the Municipal Law of each State.

On the other hand, if the Sovereign power of the State is silent, and acts are performed by the Executive Government, which cannot be referred to any other source than the treaty, such acts, unless there is an express reservation as to the exchange of

ratifications, operate as a virtual ratification of the treaty.—*Grotius*, b. ii. c. 15, s. 17.

The treaty of 1837, however, purports to be a treaty concluded, on the one part, by the British Resident at Lucknow, *in the name and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, in Council*, and on the other part, by the reigning King of Oude, for himself and his heirs, and the formal ratification by the Governor-General of India, in Council, is appended to it. On the face of the treaty, therefore, the full requirements of Law of Nations appear to have been satisfied in respect of its ratification by the Government whom the negotiator of the treaty represented, and the ratification is in the same form as in the earliest treaties between the East India Government and the rulers of Oude.

It may be necessary, however, to consider whether the ratification which has taken place is in any manner at variance with the Municipal Law. That law seems to be contained in 13 Geo. III., c. 63, and 33 George III., c. 52, the former of which statutes vested full powers of declaring war, and making treaties of peace or alliance, in the Governor-General in Council of Fort-William. The latter limits the powers of the Governor-General in Council to the extent of forbidding him, except in case of urgent necessity, to declare war or commence hostilities, or to enter into *any treaty for making war* against any of the Country Princes or States of India, or *any treaty for guaranteeing the possession* of any Country Prince or State without the command and authority of the Court of Directors, or the Secret Committee by the authority of the Commissioners for India.

The treaty of 1837, however, does not come under either class of treaties, in regard to which the power of the Governor-General is limited by 33 Geo. III., c. 52. Unless, therefore, there are some other legal limitations to his power, which control further the operation of 13 Geo. III, c. 63, and with which I am not acquainted, I should be of opinion that the Governor-General had power, under the Municipal Law, to ratify the treaty of 1837, and that his ratification gave it full effect. Further, the acts of Lord Auckland in 1839, and of Lord Hardinge in 1847, according to the rule of international law laid down by Grotius, have precluded any repudiation of the treaty in 1855.

That the Court at Lucknow considered the treaty of 1837 to be binding on the contracting parties; and that they had received no intimation that the treaty had been cancelled, appears from the report of Mr. Fletcher Hayes, the Assistant to the Resident at Lucknow (Oude Papers, p. 53). The fact is also admitted in Lord Dalhousie's minute of January 15th, 1856 (Oude Papers, p. 239), where his Lordship says—s. 16—"It is very

probable that the King, in the course of the discussions which will take place with the Resident, may refer to the treaty negotiated with his predecessor in 1837. The Resident is aware that the treaty was not continued in force, having been annulled by the Court of Directors as soon as it was received in England. The Resident is further aware, that although the King of Oude was informed at that time that *certain provisions of the treaty of 1837* respecting an increased military force would not be carried into effect, the entire abrogation of it was never communicated to His Majesty.

"The effect of this reserve, and want of full communication, is felt to be embarrassing to-day. It is the more embarrassing that the cancelled instrument was still included in a volume of treaties which was published in 1845 by the authority of the Government. There is no better way of encountering this difficulty than by meeting it full in the face.—

S. 17.—"If the *King should allude to the treaty of 1837*, and should ask why, if further measures are necessary in relation to the administration of Oude, the larger powers which are given to the British Government by the said treaty should not now be put in force? His Majesty must be informed that the treaty has had no existence since it was communicated to the Court of Directors, by whom it was wholly annulled. His Majesty will be reminded that the Court of Lucknow was informed at the time that certain articles of treaty of 1837, by which the payment of an additional military force was imposed upon the King, were to be set aside. It must be presumed that it was not thought necessary at that time to make any communication to His Majesty regarding those articles of the treaty, which were not of immediate operation, and that a subsequent communication was inadvertently neglected. The Resident will be at liberty to state that the Governor-General, in Council, regrets that any such neglect should have taken place, even inadvertently."

It may be observed that it is not competent to the Government of India to apply any other principles of law to establish the annullation of the treaty of 1837 than those which would be applicable to a treaty concluded with a Christian State. Thus, article 9 of the treaty of 1837, which provides "that all the other articles and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oude State, which are not affected by the present convention, are to remain in full force and effect," is a purely formal article, inserted *ex majorecautela*, in order to prevent subsequent doubts or disputes as to the extent to which the previous treaties were modified or cancelled. It would be contrary to the received canons of interpretation to suppose that such an article could have the legal effect of constituting an ancient treaty an integral part of a new treaty, or of engrafting

on to a new treaty the specific political character which an earlier treaty has had impressed upon it by its own provisions, which remain, *proprio vigore*, in force.

Upon the best consideration which I have been able to give to all these facts, I am constrained to come to the conclusion that the Governor-General of India, in Council, was not authorised by the Law of Nations to set aside the treaty of 1837 as inoperative, and to look exclusively (Oude Papers, p. 149) to the treaty of 1801 as the instrument by which the mutual relations of the East India Company and the Rulers of Oude were regulated.

TRAVERS TWISS.

Doctors' Commons, Feby. 24th, 1857.

CONCLUSION

WE have now brought this case to a close; that is to say, we have stated it as far as it can be stated on evidence which is open and accessible to everybody. It now remains for those who are interested in the vindication of British honour and justice to pursue the inquiry further. Inquiry is due to the injured family of Oude, with a view to such an amount of reparation as may still be possible; for this, if for no other consideration—that we may endeavour to reconcile our public morality with the obligations of power and the exigencies of empire. Inquiry is also due to the character of the English officials who are implicated in such transaction as have been here recounted according to the best of the writer's knowledge and information. Great questions of policy are mixed up with these transactions, into which it would be prudent to inquire on their own account. In what respects is our commerce benefited by annexation? In what sense is our Indian empire consolidated? Do such acts tend to develop our proper influence or our peaceful intercourse with the inhabitants of these vast territories? Do they sustain our professions of moderation and equity in the eyes of a thoughtful and meditative race? Do they substantiate our pretensions in the eyes of the civilised world? Do they import no peril from a policy so aggressive? Do they imply no risk to a Government so rapacious? Can we say at this moment that they are entirely without influence in the secular crisis and ordeal of our Indian dominion?*

*On this point see especially the speech of Lord Albemarle in the House of Lords, *Times*, July 7th, 1857, and the great speech of Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, July 20th, 1857.

The answers to these questions must be asked for elsewhere, and by others. We restrict our own inquiry to this—Do these transactions bear out our incessant professions that we have been actuated by a care for the welfare of the Oude people? Was it for their sake that we levied excessive subsidies, took the resources of their Government and the products of their taxation to be spent on other and more favoured regions? Was it for them that we treated their Wuziers as tributaries, or worked their Sovereign as "mines of munificence," took provinces from them for inadequate equivalents, or sold them provinces for equivalents as excessive, and which, consistently enough, we have since resumed without repayment of any portion of the purchase money? Was it for the benefit of the Oude people that we systematically weakened and disorganised their Government without countenancing or assisting the efforts of their Princes to improve it, nay, actually thwarting and forbidding their measures for its amelioration? Was it from motives of benevolence that we provided a Sleeman to work the same kind of mischief in Oude that we roused Europe to prevent a Menschikoff from accomplishing in Turkey? Had we no *sick man* also in our hands and in our thoughts, for whom "great changes were in course of preparation," and on whose case and symptoms we deliberately pronounced with anticipatory reference to "the indispensable result?" And now that this result has been attained, by the violation of treaties, with signal ingratitude, and not without some taint of perfidy,—now that the Oude people have been liberated and are kept enfranchised by an overwhelming force, to what extent can we show that they are our debtors, or that the substitution of our authority has been a boon or advantage to them? If we may trust the reports which have recently reached us, they are actually in a worse condition now than they were formerly. The King's Reply, in p. 57, contains some particulars of the dilapidation of his kingdom in consequence of the overthrow of its natural Government; and the rise of provisions, the increase of crime, and the emigration *from* Oude, which are there referred to as notorious facts, are proofs, if we accept them as true statements, that the people under our sway are neither prosperous nor contented.* A journal usually well informed on

*The King's Petition to the House of Commons, in fact, alleges "That since the military occupation and annexation of the kingdom of Oude, the

Indian topics, the *Press* newspaper, of June 20th, has the following remarkable statement of the results of our annexation:—"If we are to believe the accounts we read in the India papers, we must confess that there does seem to have been gross mismanagement by our authorities since the annexation of Oude. Not only does the annexation itself appear to have been accompanied by acts of violence and spoliation wholly indefensible, but the foundations of all property seem to have been unsettled to an extent unheard of under any civilised rule. If the Red Republicans themselves had got possession of the country they could not have made greater havoc with all proprietary rights, and specially with all proprietary rights in land. We hear on all sides of landowners dispossessed, of rent-free tenures arbitrarily set aside, and of the assessment of whole districts being altered at pleasure—in short, of the Company's dealing in all respects with the province as if it were not merely entitled to the revenues of it, but as if all the property within it had become the spoil of its bow and spear; as if, in fact, it was an uninhabited island newly discovered with which the discoverers had a right to do what they willed. Now, if this is really the manner in which our officials have been dealing with Oude, there will be no necessity for looking for the causes of Sepoy disaffection in the intrigues of the King; for in that case we have only to lay the blame of it on ourselves. Whether the stories we have heard on this subject have been exaggerated or not, it is impossible for us, in the absence of any official information, to determine; but there is this fact staring us in the

country has been thrown into a state of much confusion. That whereas during the reign of the Sovereign of Oude, and whilst happiness prevailed within the kingdom, no emigration took place therefrom, but on the contrary, the subjects of Great Britain in Hindostan evinced a disposition to immigrate thereto, and settle therein, since the annexation of the territory to the British dominion, numbers of persons have fled from the kingdom of Oude, and immigration has wholly ceased. That it is computed that not less than one hundred thousand persons, including civil servants of the Government, and the disbanded troops who have refused to take the Company's service, have been deprived of their means of subsistence; that the business of the country having been transferred from the natives to the British officers and forces, the retainers of the Zemindars have been thrown out of their situations; that the natives holding office as writers, clerks, etc., have been turned away and replaced by Company's servants; that all allowances and pensions being stopped, many of the recipients, including members or near connections of the Royal Family, have been reduced to extreme poverty; that the conduct of the British to the natives of the lower class is complained of as harsh in the extreme; that justice cannot now be obtained at Lucknow; and that crime is committed with so much impunity, that even the Royal Palace itself has been broken into and pillaged of money and jewels to a large amount."

face, which goes a great way to confirm them—namely, that the administration of the province has been changed three times in about as many years. The British functionaries appear, so far, to have agreed as little among themselves as they have with the landowners and the people of Oude. Such discord is not the best spectacle to hold out to a people who know by experience that disunion is weakness, if they have not learned the converse of the proposition, that union is strength."

In India, as in England, says the accusing journal, the intriguer and the demagogue are only powerful where the misconduct of the Government has itself prepared the field for them in the shape of wide-spread social discontent. What a harvest we have yet to reap out of that field time will show; and in the meanwhile it may not be too late to make some concessions to justice. As respects Oude, the appeal of its King and Royal Family is now before the House of Commons in the form of a Petition. Inquiry into the nature and extent of their wrongs is thereby solicited, and it is not to be tolerated that inquiry should be withheld. This inquiry should, of course, be general and comprehensive; but in order to give it a definite scope, it should refer chiefly to the more recent portions of this history. That a culprit and a charge may not be wanting, we have only to point to Lord Dalhousie, and to accuse him, as the latest offender, with obtaining the kingdom of Oude on false pretences. He will himself have a voice in deciding how this charge shall be met, and this reputation is concerned in meeting it fairly. Will he accept the issue thereby raised? and how will he sustain his part in it? Will he confess or deny, or vindicate or palliate? declare himself—GUILTY, or NOT GUILTY, before the Parliament of England?

Appendix

CONTAINING THE LETTERS OF LORD AUCKLAND AND OF LORD HARDINGE WITH REFERENCE TO THE TREATY OF 1837.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF AUCKLAND, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, TO H. M. THE KING OF OUDE, DATED 8TH JULY, 1839, MESSIAH.

"MAY the Omnipotent God keep the garden of wealth and fortune of your Royal Highness, the adorner of the throne of sovereignty and dignity, and embellisher of the Royal seat of grandeur and magnificence, ever blooming, smiling, vardant, and fertile with showers from the clouds of his own grace.

"Afterwards, let it not remain concealed and veiled from your illustrious mind, resembling a mirror, that some months ago there was a correspondence and some discussion in the way of consultation between me, your friend, and the Honourable Members of the Court of Directors, on the subject of *the recent treaty* under date 11th day of the month of September, of the *Christian year* 1837, *which was concluded and executed between me, your friend, and your Royal Highness*, the embellisher of the throne of sovereignty and magnificence; and although some portion of the military force stipulated in the aforesaid treaty has already been supplied and arranged, and for the necessary expenses thereof, a sum of sixteen lakhs of rupees per annum was fixed to be paid by the Government of your Royal Highness, yet the Honourable Members of the aforesaid Court, with advertence to your Royal Highness's plea, that some injury and detriment might, in consequence of such arrangement, happen to the territories of Oude, have, after due deliberation, suspended their decision *on the point*.

"As from the very commencement of the period when the throne and crown of that dominion derived their elegance under the auspicious reign of your Royal Highness, the adorner of the throne of sovereignty, magnificence, fortune, and wealth, the British Government has experienced and found upon examination the good management, justice, and commiseration of your Royal Highness, by weighing and distinguishing them with reference to those of the past periods, when, in consequence of the evils, mismanagements, prodigalities, and abuses of wealth which prevailed, there were causes for frequent and repeated censures and complaints; therefore it is said that I,

your friend, am directed and authorised at present to relieve the kingdom and territories of Oude from THAT BURTHEN *relative to the terms contained in the articles of the new treaty, in regard to the establishment of a military force,* which they may be incapable to bear, and to cause payment of the expenditure incurred on account of that portion of the military force which has now been supplied and arranged, to be made from the ever enduring treasury of the British Government. Accordingly I, your friend, am also desirous, with all my heart and soul, of carrying into effect and final execution of the aforesaid orders which the said Honourable Members of the Court of Directors have, with great cordial liberality and natural generosity, issued to me.

"I, your Highness's friend, have occasionally been contemplating and reflecting upon this matter, that probably the heavy burden of *charges of the military force employed according to the treaty,* might be the cause of heaviness of the fixed and collectible revenue of the kingdom, and in consequence thereof distressful hardships might happen to the subjects of the territories of Oude. Now, it is positively certain that this hardship being removed, a general satisfaction and reconciliation of the tenants, as well as the whole body of the subjects, will be effected; or, instead of that, with a view to public benefit and general good, foundations for the erection and construction of everlasting edifices, such as sauyers* and caravan serais, and so forth buildings, may be laid; as, by such acts also, the permanency of a good name and memory, and likewise a hundredfold comforts and ease for the whole body of the subjects and people of the country are expected; and I am convinced in my own mind, that this general tranquillity of the subjects and the welfare of the whole body of the citizens depend on the collection of revenues with due moderation and justice (which is the cause of humanity, amity, and friendship), and the selection of well qualified and faithful persons from among the functionaries and managers of business belonging to that Government, and the expulsion of malevolent persons, tyrants, and ruiners who are habituated to cause distress and practise oppression, and to take bribes and defraud the people; and your Royal Highness being perfectly acquainted with the habits and manners of all the underlings and functionaries employed in every part and quarter of the extensive dominions, are better able to adopt proper measures for carrying out all orders for the execution and management of all affairs, and general usages and practices; and it is hoped and expected that all those matters will, from day to day, tend to increase and improve under the auspices of your Royal Highness, who are endowed with every high and virtuous quality. I wish that I, your friend, being considered as ever desirous of hearing of the good health of your Royal Highness's friendly disposed person, may continue to be favoured and gratified with your elegant letters and excellent notes. May days of composure, and happiness, and felicity, and joy, ever attend you."

TRANSLATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

"At a happy time, when mention of the laudable qualities of yourself, the most select of mankind in the world, was being made, tending to expand

*Markets or fairs.

the bosoms of your faithful friends with joy, and at an auspicious moment, when the recollection of the amiable disposition and moral goodness with which you the unequalled in the world of friendship and amity, are endowed, was picturing to the minds of your unfeigned friends the realisation of divers expectations, I was favoured with the translator of the tender words of your tongue, the interpreter of bounties, and the informer of the true news of your unfeigned favours, that is to say, your kind and favourable letter addressed to me (from the nature of the words of which the drift of your benevolent disposition appeared abundantly clear and manifest, and the purport of the sentences of which demonstrated and exhibited the form of your affection towards me), communicating the glad tidings that, after *a consultation of some months on the subject of the recent treaty*, under date 11th (eleventh) day of the month of September 1837, between yourself, the adorner of the seat of sublimity and magnificence, and the Honourable Members of the Court of Directors, the desire of me, a supplicant at the Court of the Creator of the universe, in regard to the best and most beneficial arrangement under the approbation of yourself, the dispenser of benefits, and the Honourable Members of the Court of Directors (may God continue their sublimity for ever), was crowned with success, and that permission was granted *for the suspension of the payment of sixteen lakhs of rupees per annum*, on account of thepay of the military from my State, and that an order was passed for causing the amount of the expenses of the military who have hitherto been employed to be paid out of the treasury of your Government, which laid me, your sincere friend, under obligation for such unbounded generosity, and made me thankful for such conspicuous commiseration; and upon the arrival of this document of your high affection the marks of alliance between both the justly disposed Governments, became clearly visible anew to the world and all mankind, and the suspicious opinion of the nobles and plebeians, and the people in general, in respect of your, my benefactor's cordial affection towards me, regarding which I, your truly faithful friend, made much boast, came under ocular demonstration! By God! the truth is, that my deficient tongue fails to describe the commendations and encomiums due to the justice and equity of the aforesaid Honourable Members of the Court of Directors. and to the regard and justice of you my benefactor, which have been seen and observed in this matter; and in returning thanks and expressing gratitude for this great favour and mark of commiseration, which shall eternally and for ever be the means of increasing the dignity and wealth of this family, and shall cause the removal of apprehensions and anxieties of the Sovereigns of this place in respect of all *the burthensome terms relative to the military force mentioned in the aforesaid treaty*, my pen with its split tongue acknowledges its inability and fault. It is surely certain, that by this commiseration and liberality of your Government, the splendour and prosperity of this Royalty will increase every day, and by such favours and kindness of yourself, the adorner of the seat of honour and grace, the ease and comforts of the inhabitants of this city will augment and grow more and more every moment. And as to what you have with great kindness hinted to me in your friendly letter on the subject of the tranquillity and prosperity of the tenants, and subjects, and construction of everlasting memorials, and selection of honest and respectable functionaries, and expulsion of tyrants and receivers of bribes from the districts, it may be

evidently manifest to your clear mind, resembling a mirror, enlightened with the light of the graces of the Almighty God, and showing the nature and character of the state of affairs of the former and present times, that from the commencement of my reign on the throne of my hereditary kingdom, by the favour of God, the heart of me, a supplicant at the Court of the gracious God is entirely devoted to the repose and prosperity of my servants and fellow-creatures, and to the extirpation and destruction of the root of every description of oppression and corruption, and at the introduction of a system of justice and equity into this territory. Finally, I hope that, I, a sincere and undissembling friend of yours, being considered as one always desirous of hearing the happy intelligence of the well-being and soundness of your precious health, may continue to experience gratification and felicity by being favoured with your kind letters

"Dated the twenty-eighth day of the month of Jamady-ul Uvvul in the Hejeri year 1255, corresponding with

"True translations,

"THOMAS MENZIES,

"Agent to H. M. the King of Oude

"Calcutta, September 8th, 1856"

"The following is the letter, still more important in he same sense, written in 1847 to the King of Oude by Lord Hardinge:—

"LET it be known to your Majesty that it is incumbent upon the Resident, by virtue of the treaty of 1801, to counsel the Sovereign of Oude, and necessary for the Sovereign to consult the representative of the Government with regard to the administration of his country, and to follow such advice as he, the Resident, may tender to him; considering that it is our intention to be always assisting you with such advice as will assure your Majesty that the friendship of your Government is always the study and desire of the Honourable East India Company. And this state of amity has existed for the last forty-six years between this Government and your Majesty's ancestors. This Government also expects and hopes, as heretofore, to see the Sovereign of Oude firm and stable on his throne, without any diminution of his rights, and that he may enjoy all his pomp and dignity. The forbearance and the strict observance of treaties by the British Government towards princes, is evident from a consideration of the Company's immense power as exhibited in the Punjab and Kashmere. And also it is evident and proved that the British, in addition to the strict observance of their treaties and the support of the dignity of the native princes, look to the amelioration and the improvement of the condition of the Rayots; for instance, in the last year the Government declared conditionally that unless the Resident were intrusted with the entire protection of the Rayots (cultivators) from oppression, the Government would withdraw their protection from the Punjab territory. The treaty of 1801, between your Majesty's ancestors and the English Government, provides for the English Government's protection of the rights of the people. The sixth article provides thus:—'His Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the

inhabitants, and His Excellency will always advice with, and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company.'

"By the Convention of 1802, signed by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, Nawaub Wuzier-ool-Moolk agreed to provide for the protection of the Rayots, and to afford them justice without any opposition or detriment; also the said Nawaub wrote requesting that the Government would afford him assistance in enforcing obedience to his orders.

"From these conditions, which have been firm and binding for the last forty-six years, it is clear and manifest that when the British Government undertook the entire protection of the authority of the Sovereign, they also took upon themselves the protection of the Rayots; *and in* THE TREATY DATED IN 1837 there is inserted as follows: Article VII—'*In modification of Article VI. of the treaty referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administrations of his dominions, and that if his Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British government or its local representative; and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquilty, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to His Majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.*'

"*This treaty of 1837 is in confirmation and extension of the treaty of 1801, for it gives power of interference to the British Government when necessary for the proper government of the kingdom.* Your Majesty will feel assured, after perusing the sixth article of the treaty of 1801, that it is absolutely necessary for the Governor-General to perform strictly the articles of the treaty of 1801, relative to the Rayots of Oude, because if the Governor-General shuts his eyes to the anarchy and disorganisation which he has power to amend, by virtue of the treaty, then he might be recognised a party to such wrong-doings. Under such circumstances it is to be regretted that the Sovereigns of Oude do not think that a Governor-General, by taking such a load of infamy upon him, as would ensue from his non-interference, would be acting contrary to the laws of the British nation, and contrary to all high feeling, It is a fact that friendly advice has often been given on these occasions, but without avail. Now, I sincerely hope your Majesty will pursue in these affairs a more wise and cautions course than your ancestors have, so that it may not happen that instead of offering friendly advice, we take full and entire possession. Lord William Bentink (then the Governor-General of India), in 1831. tendered the same advice to the deceased King when on a visit to His Majesty. And at that time the Governor-General said clearly that he had given His Majesty, a clear understanding on every point, and told him plainly that if he did not intend to attend to it, then he would write to the Home Authorities, and recommend that the country of Oude should be brought under the British Administration, and the said Governor-General did write to that effect and he concurred with him in that opinion.

"Let not this be concealed from your Majesty, and let the rust of doubt be cleared from your mind—that an instruction has come from the Court of Directors regarding the administration of the country—that is, to place the affairs under the supervision of British officers; and, after a great deliberation and consideration, the Directors have left the whole affair to the discretion of the Governor-General, in Council, to do what he thought best, and, in fact, if the administration of the kingdom of Oude do not improve, in that case the Members of the Council will agree with the Governor-General that they must execute the power left to them whenever they may think proper. Acting in accordance with this view, Lord William Bentinck wrote to the King, on the 5th January, 1835, strictly enjoining the King to improve and repair his mal-administration, and to observe the articles of the treaty, besides many other passages of his letter, which all tended to show the same thing. One passage of his letter is to this effect: "That his Majesty would clearly understand, however his relation stands with us according to the treaty, especially when an extreme mal-administration takes place, then it would become necessary to act as he (the Governor-General) might think advisable; and that such a course of action was not optional to him, but absolutely necessary.'

"It is now three years since a letter was addressed to his late Majesty of blessed memory to this purport:—'That the mal-administration of the kingdom of Oude is extreme; necessary arrangements must be made for its reparation; and I feel extremely sorry that the Moder-ool-Mahom has been obliged to resign his office, which was contrary to the wish of the Resident Notwithstanding this, your Majesty has dismissed him on your accession to the throne and appointed another, contrary to the advice of the Resident; and, according to the Treaty, the Governor-General has power to insist upon your Majesty adopting the counsel and friendly advice of the Resident. But your Majesty is answerable for all bad administration. Such has been written to you through the Resident, who has received orders to assist and advice in the improvement of the country with the present Minister, who has been appointed by your Majesty. And be assured that, so long as the Moder-ool-Mahom will respect with honour, sincerity, the rights of the King and of the people, the Resident will assist him with heart and soul. I regret to hear that mal-administration is still extreme with respect to the judicial and revenue administration of the Oude territory. And also it is to be regretted that your Majesty, a few weeks after your accession to the throne being instigated by some ill-designed person ordered several of the Hindoo pagodas to be razed; and many similar wrong doings have come to my knowledge, such as if I were to describe all, would cause a very great deal of unpleasant feeling. It suffices to say that, during such a course of conduct, many acts of oppression and tyranny have been proved, and authenticated beyond all doubt, and confirmed by the Reports of the officers appointed on the borders of the kingdom of Oude. On hearing these circumstances. I did not think it proper to write to you upon the subject immediately, thinking that on my way to Calcutta I would explain them to your Majesty verbally in a friendly manner. At this auspicious and august period of your Majesty's accession to the throne it is desirable to ameliorate your system of government, and such orders as your Majesty may deem necessary for the amelioration it is your Majesty's duty to communicate fully to the people, in order that they may

be fully sensible of your Majesty's intention to improve the Government and relieve oppression. Your Majesty's good name depends upon your at once protecting your people from oppression and heavy taxation and thereby saving them from destruction and ruination.

"In case of delaying the execution of this policy, it has been determined by the British Government to take the management of the kingdom of Oude under their own authority. Reform will give your Majesty a good name. Should this not take place (which God forbid), the performance of my duty will cause me profound regret, because it is my sincere desire that our a lies should ever continue to maintain their pomp and rank.

"Taking into consideration your Majesty's inexperience in these matters, I do not propose to carry into effect the directions of the Court of Directors, nor do I wish to make your Majesty answerable for the oppression of your ancestors; nor can I expect that the removal of the bad system of rule could be at once effected; but the immediate exertion and endeavour of your Majesty are essential. And be assured that, whatever the English Government may do to prevent and remedy the bad usages of the Government of your country, it will not affect your rights or lower you in your dignity. Now, what I have arranged will be soon put to the test. The English Government will endeavour, as far as possible, to protect the Rayots without abolishing the old customs. To carry out such a design in difficult; but its fulfilment depends chiefly upon your Majesty's hearty co-operation with the Moder-ool-Mahom and the Resident, and on your adoption of such measures as may tend to a good result, as occurred in the following instance:-

"The principality of Nagpoor, the administration of which was assumed by the British officers, *and then made over again to its former owners*. The result was security to the rights of its Sovereign, the increase of the revenue and the tranquillity of its subjects insured. The first step should be this, to ascertain the income of every town, and then to fix a certain moderate sum of taxation thereon that the Rayots may know the sum of their expenditure. This arrangement is to endure for not less than five years, and then it is not to be set aside without the concurrence of the Resident. It is necessary that this new regulation should take effect within two years before the beginning of Fusslee 1258; and, after the lapse of this period, the British officers will ascertain what is the result of this new arrangement. But if the Governor-General shall learn that, during this period, the tyranny and oppression of the people is not diminished, then he will feel himself justified in interfering and exercising the power which, by virtue of the treaty, is left to him. The minister will forward a report of the circumstances to the Governor-General at the end of each season. And this could be done privately, as perhaps the publication of such a measure may be hurtful to your Majesty's feelings. And if your Majesty's officers should be unable to carry on the business, and should require assistance of British officers, the Government will readily assist your Majesty. These officers, will occasionally visit the interior, and will see with their own eyes any maladministration, and will remedy it by having the new arrangement continued; but as to the details of this arrangement, the minister will consult the Resident; and if your Majesty will act sincerely, you will accordingly observe, as the results, within two years, that oppression will be removed, and that without the least prejudicing your

authority, power, or the customs of the country. And if your Majesty will not adopt these recommendations, or, once adopting them, afterwards abandon the same, your Majesty well knows what course will be pursued by the British Government, and all the Princes will know that, in the first instance, a friendly advice has been tendered to your Majesty, and that what may happen will have been caused by your Majesty.

"The large army which is kept up in Oude is contrary to the treaty of 1801; and it is provided in the treaty that Nawab Wuzier-ool-Momolik may retain an army of four battalions of infantry, one of mawattees, 2,000 horse, and 300 artillerymen; and also, it is well known that in the treaty of 1837, whatever was said about the army, it remains wholly unobserved. Now, your Majesty keeps up an army of 5,000 gunners and 400 guns. 4,000 horse, 44,000 foot. To keep such an army is to coerce the Rayots in collection; and if this army is diminished, the Rayots will become rebels, and set up their own Government. But the new system of arrangement will be pleasing to the Rayots; the reduction of the army then will be easy, and the income will increase. The judicial administration and the appointment of a Court of Justice is very necessary; and my earnest prayer to your Majesty is, that the remonstrance of the Resident as to the employment of the singers, musicians, and other unworthy people in high stations, being highly improper, should be attended to. As I hear that your Majesty has in accordance with the advice of the Resident, turned out those low people infesting your Majesty's Court, and who have caused your Majesty to have a bad name, so, for the future, I earnestly hope you will dismiss the low and bad people from your Court, in which proceeding your Majesty will show much wisdom, as it is most essential. Therefore I have to ask your Majesty to give an answer to all these matters in detail within one week, through the Resident, who will forward it to me; and if your Majesty pleases, you may communicate on the minor points verbally with the Minister and the Resident. In writing all this, I assure your Majesty that the English Government has *no object whatever* except to enable your Majesty, as one of the most supreme of all the Princes of India, wisely and properly to execute all my friendly advices, and to observe the treaties and conventions faithfully, and so *ever to be adding splendour to your throne*, and that the Rayots may be protected, than which nothing could be more gratifying to me. And now be assured that I am always looking for your Majesty's welfare and prosperity, because there exists a very great and ancient amity and friendship between your Majesty and the British Government. I hope this may be everlasting that your Majesty's pomp and dignity may be increasing, and that the Rayots may be contented and satisfied.

(Signed) "HARDINGE"

(*True Translation*)
SYED ABDOOLLAH,
PERSIAN TRANSLATOR



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